Battle for the Schools—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

May 31, 1952

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Revolution Is Our Business

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Levittown in Bucks County

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

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Plebiscite in California

Should Parochial Schools Be Taxed?

BY HANNAH BLOOM

MAY 29 1952

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

McCarthy Muddle

Evanston, Ill.

IT IS traditional at Northwestern University to hold a springtime Mock Political Convention in Presidential election years. In this rock-ribbed Republican area, the affair seldom amounts to more than the usual parades, pseudo-political machinations, and the final "bipartisan" selection of a candidate who almost invariably fails to win the following November. The only time in 44 years the Northwestern student body managed to agree with the nation at large was in its choice of Calvin Coolidge in 1924.

This year, however, the M. P. C. attracted widespread interest for two reasons: it chose General Eisenhower for the Presidency and listened to Senator McCarthy, from nearby Wisconsin, as its keynote speaker. The campus reacted strongly to the surprise announcement of McCarthy's scheduled appearance; the pages of the *Daily Northwestern* crackled with letters pro and con. Actually, as members of the convention steering committee pointed out, the Senator had been invited only after other notables—including President Truman, Vice-President Barkley, and Senators Taft and Kefauver—had declined. Moreover, Senators Morse and Douglas were also on the convention speakers' list, so it is unlikely that the invitation to McCarthy was impelled by anything other than a desire to get an additional "big name" for the occasion.

More than 1700 student delegates, observers and townspeople packed the gymnasium to hear McCarthy at the convention's opening. The Wisconsin delegation, blissfully unaware of possible implications, raised two huge gas-filled balloons labeled "McCarthy." Pandemonium broke loose when the Senator entered, cheers and cat-calls about balancing each other. The speaker launched an attack on "the suicidal foreign policy of this nation . . . and the extent to which that policy is dictated from Moscow." His major "case" for the evening was that of Lawrence K. Rosinger, based on Rosinger's views as expressed at the famous round-table discussion on American Policy Towards China sponsored by the State Department in 1949. McCarthy's attack consisted primarily of charges already aired by Professor Kenneth Colegrove of Northwestern University, one of the faculty sponsors of the convention, who was seated behind the speaker on the platform.

Both Professor Colegrove and Harold Stassen, who was to speak to the convention the following day, were present at the 1949 round table. McCarthy failed to point out that these two men had been in a minority at that affair; the so-called Lattimore-Rosinger group had the support of William R. Herod of International General Electric, William S. Robertson of the American and Foreign Power Company, and other business representatives—as well as clergymen—who knew the China scene intimately.

From Rosinger, McCarthy drifted into a discussion of the *Daily Worker*, Shakespeare, and God, spicing his peroration with a quotation from *Macbeth* and a dramatic account of a chaplain's last words to McCarthy's marine unit in the Pacific. The Senator bid his audience to have courage and follow him, regardless of "the filth, the mud, the scars and the pain they may make you suffer."

After most of the spectators had filed out of the hall with McCarthy, a motion came from the floor to put the convention on record as supporting the Wisconsin Senator's views. Almost immediately, a counter-motion was introduced to table the first motion. In a shouting contest, the "nayes" were declared to have carried, but the noise was so great that a roll-call had to be held which McCarthy won, 543 to 387. So ended the meeting, but not the storm. Late the following afternoon, a handful of delegates were confronted with the civil-rights section of a proposed platform which specifically condemned the "character assassination" methods of McCarthy. With less than a quorum present, a "token vote" was taken which approved the anti-McCarthy plank.

Only three hundred participated in this voice-vote and at the evening session, brief consideration of the plank was squeezed in before the feature speaker of the evening, Harold Stassen. At this time a motion was presented attempting to delete the anti-McCarthy sentiments, but by a standing vote, it was defeated. It should be pointed out that there was considerable confusion among the delegates as to just what was being voted upon, particularly since this plank was in obvious conflict with the roll-call voted approving McCarthy's speech less than twenty-four hours earlier.

Viewed in retrospect, the Mock Political Convention did not speak well for the political maturity of the students. They apparently had no clear picture of the major issues confronting the nation and were swayed by the emotional shock of the speech of the moment. Thus the delegates, while giving McCarthy a handsome vote of confidence, also formally approved the speech of Senator Morse, whose opposition to McCarthyism should have been known to the students. Furthermore the Morse speech, which was given a rousing reception, was a relentless attack on the Presidential candidacy of Senator Taft; yet the delegates wrangled for four hours before they could steel themselves to vote for General Eisenhower as the convention's choice.

The students' reaction to McCarthy illustrates the way in which a college group, removed from the mainstream of political debate, can shift from a mood of skepticism, even hostility, to one of acceptance under the impact of florid oratory. This was the first formal test of McCarthy's strength on an American campus. The reception he was given suggests that youth can be considered "radical" only if it be understood that "radicalism" can be of the left-wing variety as well as of the left.

PHILIP HALLECK

Cultural Attrition?

How are music, opera, and the stage faring in these times of fabulous public expenditures on everything except culture? Included among the contributors to a series on the subject soon to appear in *The Nation* are John H. Mueller, author of the The History of the American Symphony Orchestra; Dr. Herbert Graf, stage director of the Metropolitan opera, and Hallie Flanagan Davis, distinguished head of the Smith College drama faculty.

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

New East-West Abyss

A last effort by the Soviet Union to prevent the integration of West Germany into the North Atlantic community has failed, and on Monday representatives of the three Western powers and of the Bonn government signed the fateful "contractual agreement." Thus on May 26, 1952—seven years to the month after its "unconditional surrender"—Germany reemerges as potentially the strongest power in Europe. Warnings from the French fell on unheeding ears. Perhaps history will listen to the dramatic appeal by Edouard Herriot, chairman of the French National Assembly, urging the Americans not to precipitate an "irreparable" situation; certainly Secretary Acheson did not.

As for the British, they seem to have given up any shadow of opposition; Anthony Eden limited himself to hoping that some kind of understanding with the Russians might be worked out in the period between the signing and the ratification of the contractual agreement. Moscow, too, seems to be counting on this hiatus. The latest Soviet note on German unification, delivered to the Western powers even as their foreign ministers' pens were hovering over the agreement in Bonn, could not have been designed for immediate effect. But in the weeks ahead the peoples of France and Germany, particularly, will be able to speak out through their representative parliaments, and ratification is yet far from a reality.

As we go to press, rumors are circulating concerning the movement of Soviet troops on Germany's eastern border. Such stories should be taken with the greatest reserve. European chancelleries, while admitting that we have entered perhaps the most critical period since the end of the war, believe that what lies ahead is a great political and diplomatic struggle rather than a shooting war. In any case, May 26 marked the opening of a new abyss between East and West.

Government by McCarran

By a vote of 52 to 18, the Senate has confirmed Judge James P. McGranery as Attorney General. Under any circumstances, the Senate's willingness to brush aside the serious charges against Judge McGranery would be remarkable; for it to ignore them in view of the present low repute of the Department of Justice is truly shocking. There was, of course, no real investigation of McGranery's qualifications by the Judiciary Committee. Coached by Senator McCarran, who, as the Alsops' widely syndicated column notes, "seems to have a fellow feeling" for McGranery, the nominee had a pleasant session with the committee. The impressive testimony of Richardson Dilworth, Philadelphia's District Attorney, was disposed of by McCarran's reference to the Americans for Democratic Action, of which Dilworth is a member, as "that left-wing organization headed by Francis Biddle." Similarly, discrepancies in McGranery's testimony were waived aside with the generous comment that the events in question "happened seven years ago." Yet a few weeks back, Senator McCarran demanded the indictment of Owen Lattimore for less significant discrepancies relating to matters even more remote in time.

It was doubtless clever of the President to nominate for Attorney General a man to whom he knew McCarran would give "impassioned" support regardless of any embarrassing evidence that might be presented. But it would seem that, in view of the public's concern with "corruption" in government and Administration's promises of a clean-up, the President could have selected a nominee for Attorney General possessing more relevant qualifications for the office than the fact that he is a crony of the President and of Senator McCarran.

Franco in Unesco

The vote of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (Unesco) to admit Franco Spain to membership was a disgrace to the whole United Nations. To have accepted this fascist state into any agency bearing the banner of the "free world" would have been bad enough; to admit it to Unesco, devoted in large measure to international cultural *rapport*, was a particularly outrageous act. The leading representatives of modern Spanish culture are either dead or in exile; the culture of the Spanish people, savagely repressed by a dictator, is beyond the reach of Unesco.

By voting "no" Mexico and Uruguay upheld the best traditions of Latin America; Padilla Nervo of Mexico, president of the Sixth General Assembly, and Rodriguez Fabrigat of Uruguay were eloquent in their opposition.

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But the United States, France, and Great Britain voted in favor—a painful spectacle, especially in view of the fact that the fourth great power, the Soviet Union, on this issue voted on the side of democracy.

For two years now we have been betraying the Spanish people in the United Nations, and for two years the Eastern-bloc states have been coming to their defense. One often wonders whether Western policy is not a better propaganda agent for communism than the Cominform itself.

"Political" Passports

The State Department has denied a passport to the Rev. Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, executive secretary of the Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council of New York, secretary of the Department of the Urban Church of the National Council of Churches, and treasurer of the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship. In 1942, Dr. Carpenter undertook a trip to India and China at the request of Dr. H. H. Kung, then Vice-President of China, and with the cooperation of the State Department. A trustee of Keuka College, he also serves on the board of the League for Industrial Democracy and the International Association of Daily Vacation Bible Schools. Some two years ago, Dr. Carpenter, in a church message, voiced a warning against "the infiltration of communism" but apparently he did not voice it loudly enough.

The State Department, which has just issued a lengthy and indignant repudiation of a "red" smear of Secretary of State Dean Acheson, was at first reluctant to offer any explanation for refusing Dr. Carpenter a passport other than the familiar phrase—"not in the best interests of the United States." Later, Mrs. Ruth Shipley, chief of the Passport Division, admitted that the passport had been denied because of Dr. Carpenter's "political activities." It appears that he once signed a statement favoring a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union and also went on record publicly opposing the Mundt-Nixon bill and military aid to Greece and Turkey—grave indiscretions, in retrospect.

The Ice Age

Coming in the wake of the denial of a passport to Dr. Linus Pauling, head of the Department of Chemistry of the California Institute of Technology and former president of the American Chemical Society, the Carpenter incident should be—though unhappily it won't be—the last count in the indictment of the State Department's arbitrary passport procedures. Dr. Pauling, to whom President Roosevelt awarded the Medal of Merit for distinguished wartime service, wanted to visit England in order to take part in a Royal Society conference on the structure of proteins. His application was rejected because of a suspicion that he was a Com-

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munist—despite his strong denial—and also because his anti-Communist statements have not been "sufficiently strong."

Disturbed by this correlation of proteins and subversion, the American Psychological Association wisely decided to hold the 1954 meeting of the International Congress of Psychology in Montreal instead of New York. This action suggests that groups such as the World Council of Churches are now confronted with an insoluble dilemma. If international meetings are scheduled for European cities, not all the American delegates will be able to obtain passports; whereas if meetings are scheduled for the United States, some European delegates are certain not to be admitted. In the end, international gatherings of all kinds may have to be postponed for the duration of the present ice age.

The Loyalty Question

The tragic results of the President's loyalty program in terms of needless suffering, wrecked careers, and a sabotaging of our traditional American liberties is nowhere more succinctly covered than in the recent pamphlet "Loyalty in a Democracy" published by the Public Affairs Committee. Summarizing various viewpoints, the pamphlet reviews the abuses which have developed in legislative and private investigations, and in the enactment of loyalty oath requirements. If the experience thus far shows anything, it holds, it is that grave abuses are almost inevitable once you begin inquiring into men's minds and possible motives.

The darkest aspect of the civil liberties picture, the pamphlet states, is to be found in the reluctance of many of our foremost citizens to oppose the witch-hunt lest they be called subversive. On the positive side, the pamphlet describes numerous local struggles in which individuals and groups have successfully stood up against the forces of repression and suggests that the loyalty problem might be solved by giving the average individual a more significant role in our economic and political life, thus strengthening the fabric of our democratic society.

Freedom for Whom?

An organization calling itself Freedom Clubs, Inc. has come to the defense of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in a ten-page document denouncing the investigation now being conducted by the Senate Elections Subcommittee as "one of the most vicious smear campaigns in American history"—a statement that strikes us as being extremely unfair to Senator McCarthy. Mailed in envelopes bearing the return address of Alfred Kohlberg, leading figure in the China Lobby and close friend of Senator McCarthy, the pamphlet was written by Dr. Kenneth Colegrove of Northwestern University who recently testified against Owen Lattimore before the McCarran Committee. Among the members of the advisory committee are: Bing Crosby, Dr. Roscoe Pound, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Lieutenant-General Albert C. Wedemeyer (now active in Senator Taft's campaign), Dr. Robert A. Millikan, Erle Cocke, Jr., past commander of the American Legion, Cecil B. DeMille, Edgar Goodspeed, Rupert Hughes, Dean Clarence Manion of the University of Notre Dame Law School, Felix Morley, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, Eddie Rickenbacker, and George Sokolsky.

But the principal figure behind Freedom Clubs, Inc., according to Dr. Roscoe Pound, is the inimitable Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr., of the First Congregrational Church of Los Angeles, founder of Spiritual Mobilization. James P. Selvage, public-relations counsel for the club, is also public-relations advisor to National Citizens for Taft, the committee headed by General Wedemeyer. A member of this committee, Felix Wittmer, wrote the vicious attack on Secretary of State Dean Acheson which appeared in the April issue of *The American Mercury*. According to the New York *Times*, over 250,000 reprints of this article have been distributed, some by the National Republican headquarters "and at least one other Republican organization." The Senate Elections Subcommittee should be encouraged to find out who is financing the public-relations activities of Freedom Clubs, Inc.

Hopping Mad

Rear Admiral Francis C. Denebrink has exonerated the skipper and chief executive officer of the U. S. S. *Reclaimer*, against whom seventy crewmen had filed charges of harsh and unjust treatment. During the five-week hearings in Honolulu, Admiral Denebrink seemed more interested, as we have already pointed out [*The Nation*, April 19], in discovering how the press learned of the charges than in investigating them. In particular, the Admiral's ire seems to have been aroused by the fact that Seaman Bruce S. Hopping, who in civilian life manages a lumber firm grossing $3,000,000 annually, had retained counsel to represent himself and the other crewmen who had filed the charges. Shortly after the Admiral's report was made, Hopping was convicted by a special court martial of soliciting complaints from seamen and of conspiring with them to embarrass his commanding officer. Given a "bad conduct" discharge, he was immediately confined pending a hearing on his appeal. Judge Delbert Metzger has, however, ordered navy officials to show cause why Hopping should not be released.

Our concern with this case was first aroused by the generally "hush-hush" atmosphere in which the hearings were conducted. This concern has not been lessened by Admiral Denebrink's report which on its face ignores

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the central issue on which the charges were based—the question of morale—nor by the promptness with which higher-ups accepted the Admiral's recommendation that Seaman Hopping should be court-martialed. We predict that the navy will not hear the last of this case for a long time.

Nation Associates Conference

In many respects the Nation Associate's all-day conference last Sunday on Freedom's Stake in the Middle East and North Africa was the organization's most successful affair to date. It brought together 600 delegates from ten states to hear an especially distinguished list of speakers including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and (by proxy) Senator Estes Kefauver, who at the last moment wired that he was detained in California by the Presidential primary campaign there. His speech was delivered by the chairman of his New York campaign, Boris Kastelanetz. Among the other speakers were Ambassador L. N. Palar, Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations; David Goitein, Minister Plenipotentiary of Israel; Dr. S. R. Shafaq, member of the Iran Senate and now a visiting professor at Columbia University; M. Jean Louis Manderaeau, Director of Missions Division of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration; Professor E. A. Speiser, chairman of the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Pennsylvania, and Kingsley Martin, editor of the British journal *The New Statesman and Nation.*

The proceedings of the conference—representing, we believe, a constructive contribution to the solution of a vital subject—will be covered more fully in next week's *Nation.* We'd like now, however, to quote Arthur Garfield Hayes who, presiding at the final dinner session, took the unusual step of introducing the audience to the speakers. "You have before you," he told the occupants of the dais, "the intellectual elite of New York and surrounding areas." Geographically, Mr. Hayes' assertion was on the modest side; delegates came from as far away as Utah, which was represented by Chief Justice James Wolfe of the State Supreme Court. The directors of the Nation Associates feel that so long as they can command the support of so dynamic and significant a section of the American community, nobody need worry about the future of the true liberal tradition in this country.

Let 'Em Eat Fresh

On the same day that Congress defeated a bill to increase federal old-age insurance payments to enable the aged to meet higher prices, the Office of Price Stabilization raised the price of canned vegetables by one to two cents a can.

Second Round: Battle for Schools

WITH the publication in the June issue of the *American Legion Magazine* of an article attacking the National Education Association, the "battle for the schools," to which we devoted a series of articles last fall,* has entered a new phase.

In itself the article—Your Child Is Their Target, by Irene Corbally Kuhn—is unimportant. It simply repeats and elaborates standard charges used in all recent attacks on the public schools: failure to emphasize the three R's; the use of Communist-influenced textbooks by "subversive" teachers; and the evils of progressive education. The importance of the article stems from two facts: it appears in the official publication of the American Legion and it directly assails the National Education Association. The largest and most influential of American educational organizations, the N. E. A. has an active membership of 400,000—made up of teachers, principals, and superintendents—and a total or affiliated membership of nearly 800,000.

While Miss Kuhn's article attempts to drive a wedge between the membership of the N. E. A. and the top echelon of its leadership, and concentrates its fire on the N. E. A.'s National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, it can only be read as a direct attack on the N. E. A. as a whole. "One of the strongest forces today in propagandizing for a socialistic America," she writes, "is the hierarchy of the National Education Association." And in a reference to the organization itself she says: "Some of its performances have been more typical of the tactics of a captured labor union, complete with goon squads, than of a respectable national organization." To appreciate the significance of the appearance of an article using such language in the *Legion Magazine,* it should be recalled that the Legion and the N. E. A. have been active allies since the establishment of a joint committee on educational problems some twenty years ago. What exactly has happened, then, to prompt this aggressive and provocative attack by the most influential veteran organization in the United States on the largest educational organization in the country?

THERE is more to the developing feud between the Legion and the N. E. A. than meets the eye. For example, certain sub-surface tensions have been growing over the question of federal aid to education. The N. E. A. has, of course, steadily maintained that federal aid should only be granted to public schools, while the Legion has been under great pressure from a section of its membership to favor federal aid to paro-

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chial schools as well. But this issue, on which no real break has yet occurred, hardly accounts for the present all-out attack on the N. E. A.

The key is probably to be found in the success of the N. E. A.'s counter-offensive against the enemies of public education. Drawing a sharp distinction between honest criticism of the schools, however drastic, and organized attacks on public education, the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy has effectively alerted communities from coast to coast to the dangers, and has exposed the activities, of such groups as Allen Zoll's National Council for American Education, the American Education Association, Lucille Cardin Crain's Committee on Education of the Conference of American Small Business Organizations, and other groups which, under the pretext of opposing progressive education and other symbolic targets, are out to capture control of the public-school system. The N. E. A.'s counter-offensive, which Miss Kuhn denounces as "an all-encompassing-umbrella smear campaign," has been so effective, in fact, that in not a single test engagement have the enemies of public education been able to win a clear-cut victory. In Pasadena they did succeed in forcing the resignation of Superintendent of Schools Willard E. Goslin, but only at the cost of alerting the community and the nation to the dangers of their campaign. In Scarsdale, New York; Englewood, New Jersey; and in Denver, Minneapolis, and Palo Alto the "enemy" has been forced to retreat if not to capitulate.

At the same time, there has been a tremendous growth of citizen interest in the public schools; Benjamin Fine, writing in the New York *Times*, estimates, for example, that some 5,000 citizens' organizations concerned with education have been formed in the last five years. Now that the first assaults have been thrown back and this formidable body of public opinion has been organized, the "enemy" cannot resume the battle to capture control of the schools without first bringing into play new forces powerful enough to impose "coordination" upon the N. E. A. If this can be done, then the next objective will be to capture control of the grass-roots committees and organizations that have come into being since 1947. Miss Kuhn hints, for example, that these groups will be "linked together at the appropriate moment." One can readily surmise that the appropriate moment will be when the N. E. A. has been forced to repudiate or disband its National Commission for the Defense of Democracy. As a matter of fact, the Legion attack on the N. E. A. was foreshadowed by a report which the Sons of the American Revolution issued last summer, blasting the N. E. A. as "the chief culprit" in a conspiracy "to force socialism and communism on the United States." A copy of the report was submitted to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The forces that launched the "battle for the schools," of which Pasadena was the first major skirmish, have not been able to break through the defenses which were so quickly and effectively thrown up by the N. E. A. and other bodies. These forces are now being regrouped for another assault, the full force of which will not be felt until this fall. The strategy, however, is already clear. It will aim, first, at removing the roadblock which is the N. E. A.'s National Commission, and second, at capturing control of the various citizens' grassroots committees and fusing them into a mass movement under Legion auspices and control. The new congressional committee that was recently established to investigate the foundations will doubtless inquire into the various grants that the N. E. A. has received—a matter which is touched upon, incidentally, in Miss Kuhn's article. It would be difficult, therefore, to exaggerate the importance of the second offensive in "the battle for the schools" of which the Legion article is the first major fusillade.

How Wrong Was It?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

IF ANY paper other than the *Monde* had published the "Fechteler document," the whole thing would have been forgotten in a day or two. The hullabulloo over it, not only in France but also abroad, is certainly a tribute to the *Monde's* authority, influence, and unique position in European journalism. To see it tripped up no doubt embarrassed all those who think the *Monde* not only one of the most courageous and independent, but also one of the best-informed papers in the world; while its enemies were filled with such glee that some screamed for government action and some even for police action. As if there were a paper in the world that had never made a mistake!

But how big a mistake was it? The article written recently in The *Monde* in self-defense by its editor, M. Beuve-Mery, though rather lame in spots, made a number of direct hits. Why, he asked, did the Americans, including Fechteler, dismiss the whole thing as "fantastic" when in reality a large part of the report was a direct transcript of an article in the *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings* by Commander Talerico, an associate of Admiral Fechteler and of Admiral Carney? Why also did Talerico lie low until a bright Dutch journalist discovered where large parts of the "Fechteler report" had been "cribbed" from? And how very inefficient of Fechteler's own men to have "spent a whole week-end searching for any possible basis" of the *Monde* document when all they had to do was to look up a few back numbers of the semi-official U. S. Navy publication.

As far as the top-priority to be given to the Mediterranean in the next war against Russia was concerned, the only mistake the *Monde* made was to attribute the

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smoke to a slightly wrong fire; a much bigger mistake was to assume that Fechteler had written the passages concerning the almost instantaneous collapse of the European army, the invasion of England by 150,000 paratroopers, and so on. If this was not part of the Talerico document, where then had it come from? Had it been added by the "editors" of the "Fechteler document" on their own initiative, or had they found it in some other American military or naval expert's article? The most Beuve-Mery found to say on that score was to quote the self-same *U. S. Naval Proceedings* which recently published an article by Commander C. S. Arthur, advocating a "scorched earth" policy throughout Western Europe in the event of a Russian advance, and adding that, from the standpoint of United States strategy, "it would be far better if Europe did not exist at all."

Finally, Beuve-Mery said that if he was "taken in" by the "Fechteler document," which had been procured by somebody in the Secret Service (no names were mentioned), it was because certain important French officials who knew about it had also been "taken in."

What Beuve-Mery's defense amounts to in the last analysis is that if the publication of the "document" was a bad *technical* mistake, it was not a major *political* mistake. The truth is that American military and naval experts undoubtedly have been messing about with all sorts of dangerous ideas involving the fate of Europe, and yet anxious that Europe should not know anything about it. And when sometimes Europe does learn about American strategic plans, it is often too late to avoid trouble.

What Beuve-Mery apparently feels is that it would be better if in Europe, at any rate, we did not have a repetition of the "obscurities" of American policy in the Far East; and that Europe is entitled to know a little more about American planning for the next war. The fact remains, however, that the *Monde* made a bad technical mistake.

Switzerland—Cradle of Neutralism

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

SWITZERLAND does not often make the headlines in the American press but its position in the ideological world conflict is worthy of thoughtful attention. For Switzerland is the neutral country *par excellence*. Its neutrality is not a static dogma; it is a subject of controversy not only abroad but among the Swiss themselves.

Officially Swiss neutrality has been understood and respected ever since the Declaration of Paris on November 20, 1815, which stated that "The signatory Powers recognized the neutrality of Switzerland and proclaimed that her inviolability and her independence from any influence are in the interest of all Europe." When, in 1848, Switzerland adopted a federated political structure, neutrality was made the foundation of its foreign policy. The country has remained remarkably faithful to this policy ever since.

Neutrality does not mean isolation. On the occasion of Switzerland's ratification of the Covenant of European Economic Cooperation signed in Paris on April 16, 1948, the Swiss government stated this plainly: "Placed at the center of Europe, our country can neither isolate herself economically nor remain indifferent to the events that take place on our frontiers." A year earlier, when invited to participate in the Paris conference to examine the Marshall Plan, Switzerland declared its conditions for participation: (1) that collaboration would not be incompatible with neutrality; (2) that the country would not be tied by decisions of an economic character taken without its approval; (3) that Switzerland must be free to maintain its present agreements and conclude any new ones it might desire with countries not participating in the organization created at Paris. The last point was to insure freedom of action in regard to Russia and other Communist countries. In the case of China, in a gesture of loyalty to the principle of political neutrality, Switzerland extended recognition to the Mao Tse-tung government as soon as its authority over the country appeared definitely established.

Western Europe is an important factor in Swiss trade policy, imports traditionally having the upper hand over exports. But since the commercial treaty signed in Moscow on March, 1948, there has been an exchange of goods between Russia and Switzerland, though not on a large scale. Since 1950 trade with Poland has increased, especially the import of Polish coal. Swiss exports to Czechoslovakia rose in 1951. With Rumania and Hungary a normal though modest commerce has also developed. Certain Western powers frown upon this trade; the Swiss government, however, insists that it has taken all kinds of effective measures to prevent strategic goods sent to Switzerland from the West from reaching the Eastern countries. Neutrality does not prevent either the government or the press, the latter one of the best in the world, from openly criticizing certain trends in European policy, such as the Schuman Plan or the frivolous attempt in the Council of Europe to adopt a program of federation—a subject on which the Swiss speak with some authority!

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There was at one time a lively debate in the Swiss press as to whether Switzerland, in view of the growing world tensions, should join the United Nations; but the idea was overwhelmingly rejected on the ground that the charter imposes upon members the obligation to support armed sanctions against aggressors. In a poll of 52,000 persons of both sexes, 58.8 per cent of those questioned supported unconditional neutrality; 38.2 per cent voted to maintain the principle of neutrality in the event that Switzerland should decide to join the United Nations, and only 3 per cent called for the abandonment of neutrality.

Neutrality in Switzerland does not imply any lack of determination to defend the country. Great sacrifices are made to maintain a first-class army. The sum of 1,464 million Swiss francs, an enormous total for such a small country, has been voted for military purposes for the years 1951 to 1954. The policy of "armed neutrality" has the solid support of the Swiss people.

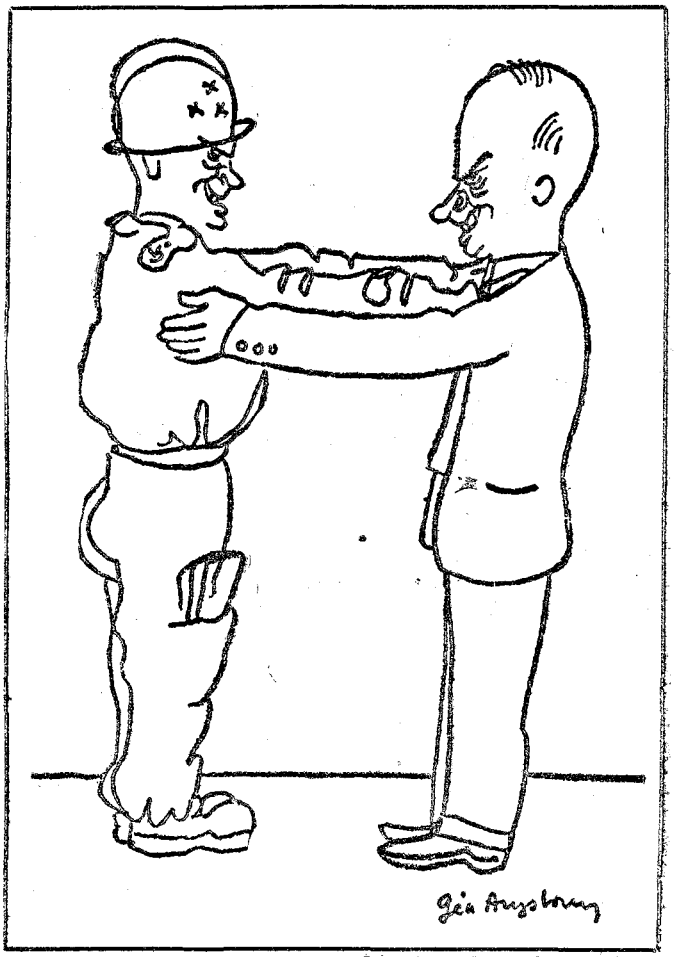
Large sections of European opinion enrolled under the banner of "neutralism" have found justification and encouragement in the example of Switzerland. The movement started in France; at the outset it appeared destined to remain the intellectual platform of a group of historians, professors, and writers. The planners of Atlantic defense strategy paid almost no attention to the campaign by Claude Bourdet in the *Observateur,* to an article by the academician Etienne Gilson in the *Monde,* or a single challenging essay by the late Emmanuel Mounier, founder of *Esprit.* Neutralism suffered a reverse when war broke out in Korea but regained impetus as the general international situation worsened.

THE mistrust with which the Communists at first regarded a movement which, in their view, confused the issues, gradually vanished. The Soviet note of March 10 on Germany offered the extreme Left a chance to soften their hostility to neutralism. In *Action,* Pierre Hervé, who had previously used his satiric talent to poke fun at the neutralists, wrote: "The Soviet plan may create in the center of Europe a neutral power that will prove that the neutrality of a great nation is not only possible but beneficient." But even before a change of attitude was registered by Communist spokesmen, neutralism was assured of Left-wing mass support. A recent study by the French Institute of Public Opinion reveals that the average French Communist voter is a "neutralist." Only one in five replied "yes" to the question: "Do you believe France should participate in a war between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. if given opportunity to remain neutral?" Sixty-five per cent said "no." An American news agency stated: "This neutralism is the strongest current in French political thought today and the one most difficult to overcome in a push for a defense build-up."

The movement is no longer exclusively a French product. In Italy it played a considerable role in the campaign prior to last Sunday's elections. It is spreading in Britain and the Scandinavian countries; in Germany it is tied up with the idea of unification and the withdrawal of the occupying powers. It has been particularly strong during the far-reaching events of recent months—the signing of the new "contractual agreement" with Germany, the signing of the treaty to pool the military strength of France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, and the signing of a protocol to extend to Germany the territorial guaranties of the North Atlantic Treaty. Neutralism is bound to become still more active in the period just ahead, when all efforts to avert the consequences of these events will multiply.

Neutralism has crossed the ocean, though the word is less used in this hemisphere. We see it in the Mexican refusal to enter into a military pact with the United States, in the position taken by such popular leaders as Frondizi of the old Radical Party in Argentina, in the feeling against making precise military commitments which prevails throughout most of Latin America as well as in large parts of non-Communist Asia.

Neutralism is not merely, as has been suggested, fear of an atomic war, cowardice, selfishness, reluctance to pay taxes for rearmament or to exchange butter for guns. It is also the revolt of the best spirits against the hypoc-



La Tribune des Nations, Geneva

Mr. Eisenhower Says Farewell to General Eisenhower

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risy of a policy that asks people to be ready to die for principles that are daily betrayed by the very governments that issue the call to arms. An outstanding neutralist—and anti-Communist—explained to me in France last January the reasons for his position:

> I simply have come to the conclusion that there isn't any appeal to decent impulse in our foreign policy. They speak of democracy and support Franco in your country. They praise self-determination and identify themselves with the traditional colonialism. They talk of Point Four and withhold the funds necessary to put it into practice.

My friend told the story of how thousands of posters that had been prepared by the United Nations for distribution during the Assembly had been suppressed because they carried the picture of a dove, which might be mistaken for the Picasso "peace dove." "We have even allowed the Russians to steal from us the symbol of peace," he repeated bitterly.

Not every country is in the privileged situation of Switzerland which has not been invaded since 1815 and has been able to combine neutralism with the most agile and alert preparedness for defense. Only six weeks ago its War Office urged all householders to be ready for any emergency and arranged for the sale of a package containing a one-person ration, as if war were going to break out tomorrow. The Swiss do not fear immediate war but neither do they wish, in this era of growing neutralism, that the significance of Swiss neutrality be wrongly interpreted.

Revolution Is Our Business

BY WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

THERE is much talk these days of war. I, of course, am not in a position to know, but I have a feeling that the fears of America are often misplaced. I have a feeling that we have misinterpreted and misjudged some of the forces in the world.

Soviet Russia, with its hungry appetite for imperialistic expansion, is a military threat, and America must be prepared, of course. But I don't think there is going to be war with Russia at this time. And why?

I think the stakes involved, the immediate stakes are the stakes of Asia and the Middle East. I think that Soviet Russia will not move in a military way until it has on its side the balance of the people of the world. Freedom and justice and equality are the bulwark against any form of totalitarianism, the most virulent of which is communism. . . .

The great struggles for the world today are at the political level. The battle for Asia is at the political level, and in that sense, I think we in America have misinterpreted the signs of the times. It is my deep conviction that the peoples of Asia cannot be won by guns or by dollars. The peoples of Asia must be won, if they are to be won, with ideas.

I suppose that each of us projects into his personal relationships and into his community relationships, the conflicts he has within himself.

That is inevitable because, after all, we are all human beings. If you do not believe in free speech, if you are afraid of new ideas, of course, you will be panicky and alarmed at people like Nehru of India, who believes in experimentation.

If you are suspicious that every one who has a new idea may be a secret Communist agent representing the Kremlin, of course, you will be suspicious of the peoples of the Middle East who are speaking and working and striving for a higher standard of living for themselves. And, if you practice racial discrimination, if you do not believe that a man is entitled to the same opportunities, whatever his religion, whatever his race, whatever his creed, when you turn to the colored people of Asia, you will be confused and in trouble, because you who are not able to recognize equality at home will not be able to recognize equality abroad.

The worst provincialism of which America can be guilty is the provincialism of prejudice, racial prejudice, prejudice against new and challenging ideas. . . .

The most powerful things in the world are ideas, more powerful than all of the atomic bombs, all of the big guns, all of the airplanes. They are the most dangerous things in the world too.

What is this hold that communism has on people? Mostly ideas, and rather shabby ones at that—ideas borrowed from the West and perverted to the Communist goal.

What is the great, powerful thing of which we are proud in America? What is it that we represent? . . . It is our Declaration of Independence, it is our Constitution, it is our Bill of Rights. Those are the things that

This article is a condensation of an address by the Hon. William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, at the 18th biennial convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (C. I. O.), held recently at Atlantic City.

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set us apart, not our television sets, not our bathroom facilities, not our motor cars, not our buildings, and paved streets. And when the atomic dust settles, if it ever does, we will still have our ideas of brotherhood and freedom and justice and we will go on from there and not turn back.

There are revolutions that are sweeping the world and we in America have been in a position of trying to stop them. With all the wealth of America, with all of the military strength of America, those revolutions cannot be stopped. Those revolutions are revolutions against a form of political and economic organization in the countries of Asia and the Middle East that are oppressive. They are revolutions against feudalism. It is feudalism that is feeding the fires of communism in the Middle East and Asia.

When I say feudalism, I mean a system of economic organization in which a few men own the wealth of the country, where a few men run the politics of a country and where there is a government of the landlords and by the landlords and for the landlords. We do not have that in America. We have in America a broad base for participation in all affairs by everyone. We in America are not perfect. We have much to do, but our standards are right and our ideals are good, and we are striving to live up to them.

But out there in the Middle East and Asia, people like us who have come from the bottom of society, as all of us have, would not have any opportunity.

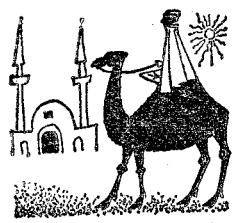
We would have no schools for our children; we would have no doctors or dentists to take care of ourselves or our families; we would have no hospitals; our income would be barely enough to live on.

We would be tied into a farm-tenancy system in which the owner of the land would get a net return of about 90 per cent or 95 per cent on the crop and we would get 5 per cent or 10 per cent—a bare subsistence. He would own our land, our houses, our oxen, our plows, our water. He would own our souls.

That kind of a system is not going to survive.

People are on the move. I did not fully appreciate that until I got to the Middle East and spent three summers there and saw what was happening in the villages. People are on the march.

Who are their champions today? The underground Communist Party. Why aren't we their champions? Why aren't we in America standing in the villages of the Middle East and Asia and saying we are for economic justice and social justice and we are going to help you, the peasants, achieve your revolution? Not by throwing bombs, of course. Not by smuggling in guns, not by leading armed insurrections. But through revolutions in the political sense.



What do we do instead? We have been supporting corrupt reactionary regimes, putting money behind governments that are vicious governments, reactionary governments, wasting the wealth of America, trying to underwrite the status quo, trying to stabilize the situation, as our officials sometimes say.

The situation cannot be stabilized with all the wealth of the world, with all of the guns of the world. Things are on the move. Revolutions are in the making. The stakes are civilization. Russia is not going to move in a military way, in my opinion, until the balance of power politically swings to Russia in Asia. So I say, let us concentrate our thinking upon Asia and the Middle East and decide, as a result of our own soul-searching, what we do really stand for. . . .

This is a great country and the people are generous and warmhearted and idealistic. There is today, I think, a great groping for something that is constructive and positive. There is a growing feeling in this country of futility, of frustration. What we are doing is not succeeding while Russia seems to be having political success after political success.

Russia has been winning by default. With very few exceptions, there is no such thing in the Middle East as political parties as we know them. The only political alternative that the people have had, who have been trying to escape from their misery and their poverty, has been the Communist Party. There are exceptions, but the exceptions are not many. We, in our generosity, go to these countries with a vast Point Four program from a technical point of view. With all our medical skills and public-health services, we can move into the Middle East and Asia and we can improve conditions substantially.

In many parts of the Middle East and Asia, eight out

Beyond Comment

A federal judge refused to let five Negro parents send their children to a white high school Saturday, holding that nineteen miles is not an "unreasonable distance for them to travel to a Negro school."—*Dispatch from Knoxville, Tennessee, to the Denver* Post.

Asked about a breakdown of the votes of the members [of the Senate armed services committee] present, Senator Byrd said, "We decided not to announce the results to avoid confusing the public."—*From the Boston* Herald.

"I have found on an around-the-world tour that the principles of the American Legion are as good as those in the Bible."—*Erle Cocke, Jr., former National Commander of the American Legion, as quoted in the Los Angeles* Times.

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The Charles E. Sherrod Library

of ten babies die before they reach the age of one; and it would not take very many American technicians to move through that part of the world and to stop that, by cleaning up water supplies, by teaching vaccination, and so on.

But if that is all that is done, if all you do is keep the babies from dying before they reach the age of one, you have done nothing but increase the number of people among whom you will have to ration the poverty.

You can move in to your agricultural areas of Asia and the Middle East with our wonderful Point Four program and increase the production of the land. But if the net return to the tenant is still only 5 per cent, all you are doing is making a few landlords richer.

I am not exaggerating. I do not think we have any idea of the extent to which the feudal system has fastened itself upon that part of the world. It is about the way Europe was before 1000 A. D.

I met men out there who own farming land greater in acreage than the entire state of Switzerland. One man owned 1,600 villages lock, stock, and barrel. Go into those villages with your Point Four program and increase the production of the land and if the owner takes 95 per cent, what have you gained in the struggle against communism?

There are many raw materials in Asia and the Middle East. There are tremendous industrial possibilities there. Those industrial possibilities fill men like Nehru with alarm and deep concern. Why? Your unskilled labor in that part of the world gets around 25 cents a day. Your skilled labor in that part of the world gets about $1 a day.

The standards are not the same as they are here. Conditions are vastly different. Of course, Asia needs industrialization. Of course, the Middle East does too. But it will take years and years to get it, in the American sense, unless there is going to be tremendous exploitation.

It cannot be done quickly. It cannot be done in the typical American way of doing things. It must be slow. One of the things that must be imported along with capital is the organization of unions for the protection of the rights of labor. . . .

When one sees how far back in the train of things the peoples of Asia are, industrially speaking, one begins to appreciate the wisdom of Gandhi when he was arguing for the development of home industries and village industries, rather than these tremendous social cancers that would fasten themselves on Asia and India for the benefit of a few men.

Yes, we must go to the Middle East and we must go to Asia. We must help them. We must go with technical programs. We must also go with social and political ideas. If we do not go with social and political ideas, our technical program will be of little value in saving that part of the world from Soviet imperialism.

Abraham Lincoln said that the Declaration of Independence was an instrument forged not only for the benefit of Americans on this continent, but one destined to lift the weight off the shoulders of men the world around. That is what people in the backward areas think.

Let us be true to our great traditions. Let us go to the world with ideas of freedom and justice. Let us make the revolutions. Let us make sure that when our technical people go into the villages of the Middle East and Asia the people of the villages know on which side America stands.

You cannot go into those villages and be there a week without taking sides. You are either for the landlord or you are for the peasants. Before we go, let us make up our mind whom we are for; and if we cannot make up our mind, we should not go. If we can hitch the few dollars that we have and the much knowledge that we have to a few simple ideas of economic democracy and political democracy and social justice, and be heard in that part of the world as the advocates of economic and social and political democracy, the red tide of communism will turn. Then we of the West will make a political victory; we will have Asia and the Middle East on our side; we will save those people from the curse of Soviet imperialism. Those are things that we must go to the world with.

We have been hesitant, we have been afraid. We have poured billions of dollars into Europe, and we did

Lillian Hellman's Credo

I am advised by counsel that if I answer the [Un-American Activities] Committee's questions about myself, I must also answer questions about other people, and that if I refuse to do so, I can be cited for contempt. . . . I am not willing, now or in the future, to bring bad trouble to people who, in my past association with them, were completely innocent of any talk or any action that was disloyal or subversive. . . . I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit this year's fashions, even though I long ago came to the conclusion that I was not a political person and could have no comfortable place in any political group.

I was raised in an old-fashioned American tradition and there were certain homely things that were taught me: to try to tell the truth, not to bear false witness, not to harm my neighbor, to be loyal to my country, and so on. . . . It is my belief that you will agree with these simple rules of human decency and will not expect me to violate the good American tradition from which they spring.—*Extract of letter from Lillian Hellman, playwright, to House Committee on Un-American Activities.*

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necessarily, I think; but we have never hitched much of our European dollars to ideas.

Why do you think the number of Communists have been increasing in France and in Italy? Why do you think they have been growing? Because we have not hitched our dollars to ideas. Unless we hitch our few dollars to ideas, unless we are forthright in our dealings in the Middle East and in Asia, we are going to go down in history as identified with the worst reactionary imperialistic forces, apart from Soviet Russia, that the world has known. That is not fair to America nor to her people, because America is not made up of people who want to do that kind of thing.

We believe not in terror, but in tolerance; we believe in justice for everyone, regardless of his political faith, his racial origins, or his religious creeds. Those are the strongest ideas that have ever been let loose in the world.

The Depressing German Press

BY MANFRED GEORGE

UNDER Hitler the German people learned to distrust the printed word. The avalanche of lies which Goebbels unloosed practically blotted out any distinction between fact and propaganda. When the Allies marched into Germany they needed a reliable press which did not exist. Most of the old newspapermen had been Nazis and had fled or gone underground. The younger generation had had no political or technical training for the job. The few members of the German press who had belonged to the resistance movement or, being stout Social Democrats or Catholics, had disappeared from the scene during the Hitler period, were therefore pressed into service. In addition, there were numerous prominent journalists who had left Germany in the thirties and returned with the Allied armies.

At present the West German Federal Republic has only one daily with national circulation—the *Neue Zeitung*, published until recently in Munich but now removed to Frankfurt and Berlin. Edited by Hans Wallenberg, a brilliant German exile who became a major in the United States army during the war, it is read by everybody in public life. Its coverage of political and cultural events is of the highest quality. But the *Neue Zeitung*—and this is the important thing—is the official mouthpiece of the American authorities. Although it is widely read and discussed, it is considered a "foreign" paper by the politically-minded German public.

Other German dailies are more or less local papers. Their distribution is confined to the town or city in which they appear, or at the most, to the province. Newspapers in cities like Frankfurt, Munich, and Cologne have of course a fairly large circulation, but it cannot be said that they exercise a definite influence on political opinion. The most important are *Die Welt* (Hamburg) the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, the *Suddeutsche Zeitung* of Munich, the *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung* of Heidelberg (one of the owners is President Heuss), and the Berlin *Tagesspiegel*. West Germany is strictly decentralized; the federal government plays a lesser role than the governments of the *Laender*, or states. For that reason most papers have a narrow provincial outlook, their interests centering in municipal or state affairs.

Almost all the larger newspapers have remained in the hands of the men who started them in 1945. The Nazis who returned to the newspaper field a few years ago have as yet been unable to reconquer it. Although the Allies no longer require Germans to obtain a license for putting out a paper, the liberals have held their own against resurgent Nazi competition. In the midst of a rising tide of Nazism, the dozen leading dailies are still unequivocally anti-Nazi.

Does this mean that the German mind gets healthy nourishment? A look at the average German newsstand will furnish the answer. Slick magazines and cheap "yellow" journals crowd out everything else.

The best approach to a German is still the emotional one. Stories supported by pictures are the chosen medium. Among the weeklies only those that are illustrated and cater to German sentimentality have a country-wide circulation. To increase their appeal by playing on hidden sentiments and suppressed ambitions, these papers soon adopted the nationalist line. The two largest, *Quick* and *Der Stern* (*The Star*), each with a circulation of some 600,000, are definitely nationalist, displaying even a Nazi tinge. Two others are democratic in tone—the *Neue Illustrierte* of Cologne and the *Frankfurter Illustrierte*, whose editor-in-chief is Friedrich Kroner, in pre-Hitler days editor of Germany's best magazine, *Uhu*. Until very recently the *Münchner Illustrierte* also belonged in this group. Hans Habe, the well-known novelist, author of "A Thousand Shall Fall," edited it, but he has now resigned, and the magazine has become non-political.

MANFRED GEORGE, editor of Aufbau, *New York German-language weekly, is also American correspondent for the well-known Swiss daily, the Basel* Nationalzeitung. *He visited Germany last year.*

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(Habe himself has just started publishing a weekly, *Echo der Woche*, with the characteristic subtitle *Independent European Magazine*.) Each of these three weeklies has a circulation of about half a million. *Revue*, which closely follows the nationalist line, sells perhaps 400,000 copies weekly.

To show how the facts are all too frequently distorted: on October 6 last *Revue* carried two letters to the editor which termed the figure of 11,000,000 for the victims of Nazi occupation fantastic and impossible. One letter said the "Quarterly Report of the United States High Commissioner" gave the total number of Nazi victims as 2,000,000. The editor of the "Quarterly Report" replied that the figure of 2,000,000 referred only to victims of the S. S. occupation troops. *Revue* carried this explanation but in a carefully abridged form and surrounded by four other letters which painstakingly quoted obscure sources to prove that Jews always grossly exaggerate the losses suffered under Hitler.

These illustrated weeklies tell more about the German temper than any Gallup Poll could possibly do. After a surprising number of stories about life and happenings in the United States—some giving a false picture of the "American way of life" and some outspokenly hostile—their main features are evocations of the "good old times." For the democratic magazines the "good old times" are the era of the Kaiser. A serial entitled "My Grandfather the Kaiser," written by a granddaughter of Wilhelm II, had tremendous success and increased the paper's circulation by 10,000. The nationalist magazines, under the pretext of presenting documentaries of historical interest, glamourize the Führer and his lieutenants. One series, "Behind the Walls of Spandau," depicted the sad life of war criminals in the military prison near Berlin. A semi-documentary, "Night Without Pity," started out with the assassination of a high Allied officer. Another extremely successful serial was "Hitler's Tischgespräche" ("Conversations at Hitler's Dinner Table"), published ostensibly to show the irresponsible maundering of Hitler's talk but in the final analysis serving a different purpose which its readers were not slow to find.

In addition to the big six, there are no fewer than thirty-two smaller illustrated weeklies. A number of other periodicals, some of them illustrated, are devoted to the interests of special groups—veterans, refugees, ex-prisoners of war, and so on. During the past few months two have attracted particular attention. One calls itself *Der Stahlhelm* (*The Steel Helmet*) and shows the grim face of a steel-helmeted soldier next to its masthead. Banned by Hitler in 1935, it is again being published as the organ of the reactionary generals, clamoring for restitution of the territories lost to Poland and extolling General Mannstein, a convicted war criminal, as a kind of male Joan of Arc. *Die Deutsche Soldatenzeitung* (The German Soldier's Weekly) features an Iron Cross on its front page. It was this paper, incidentally, which published the outrageous demands proposed by General Friessler as the price of Germany's military cooperation within the framework of a European army.

Some of the most dangerous propaganda is spread by weeklies like *Der Sudetendeutsche* (*The Sudeten German*) and the *Ostdeutsche Zeitung* (*East German Weekly*), organs of the ten million German refugees from the eastern provinces and the German districts of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and the Baltic states. These refugees are full of hate against those who drove them from their homeland and support any nationalist movement which aims to reconquer the lost provinces.

On the other side of the ledger, several periodicals live up to the best traditions of the German press. *Die Gegenwart, Europäische Hefte, Europa Archiv, Die Aktion, Geist und Tat,* and a few others represent the politically progressive minds in Germany. Unfortunately, they are comparatively few in number, and so are their readers.

There is not much chance that this depressing picture will change. Only if we stop considering a motley crowd of full-fledged reactionaries and semi-fascists our friends just because they profess to be anti-Communist will the progressive press of Western Germany get the encouragement it so desperately needs.

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California's Church School War

BY HANNAH BLOOM

Los Angeles

CALIFORNIANS will tangle with some turbulent issues in this year's elections, but none more touchy than the referendum to repeal the Waters act, which exempts from property taxes all religious schools of less than collegiate grade. Always "the great exception," California is the only state that, until the adoption of the act last spring, had never granted tax exemption to parochial schools; in fact, the state legislature had rejected the principle on three prior occasions in the last quarter century. In November, for the first time in California or anywhere else, the issue will be subjected to popular vote on a state-wide basis.

It goes without saying, of course, that a question so "hot" as this is already being debated at luncheon clubs, open forums, and on radio and television programs, confirming that "Californians adore being campaigned."

As soon as referendum petitions began to circulate, parochial-school patrons entered the lists. The Parents' Taxpayers Association and the Committee for Justice in Education blasted the petitioners as "religious bigots" and "subversives." Allowing the voters to pass on the Waters bill was condemned as an illegitimate use of the referendum; directors of the campaign were branded as "unscrupulous promoters"; persons distributing the petitions were threatened and accused of "misrepresentation"; the state Un-American Activities Committee promised to investigate charges of "subversion." A month after the referendum qualified for the ballot, with a surplus of 50,000 signatures, the Los Angeles *Mirror* pleaded for a four-month moratorium on the issue because an avalanche of letters to the editor reflected "irrational hatreds and bigotry."

The impetus for the Waters bill was supplied by the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors, which habitually convenes in July as a board of equalization and conducts quasi-judicial hearings on tax relief for religious, charitable, and other single-purpose institutions. Pleading hardship, necessity, or public service, such institutions had gradually won tax reductions amounting in some cases to nearly 90 per cent of the initial assessment. After a 1950 Supreme Court decision, the county counsel advised the board that such high exemptions were invalid, since its authority to correct tax inequities did not include the power to exempt. The remedy for this legal quirk, denominational advisers decided, was complete tax exemption. Legislation to this end was promptly introduced by Assemblyman Laughlin E. Waters and sponsored by fifty-seven other Assemblymen. Within twenty-seven legislative days the bill was approved by the Legislature with three dissenting votes and signed by Governor Earl Warren. It amends the "welfare exemption" of the state revenue and taxation code and extends "tax exemption to property used exclusively for schools of less than collegiate grade owned and operated by nonprofit religious, hospital, or charitable institutions."

ABOUT 160,000 children, according to the New York *Times*, are enrolled in California's 700 parochial schools; the Roman Catholics operate about 453 schools, Seventh Day Adventists 146, and Lutherans less than 100. (The inclusion of hospital and charitable schools in the amendment was a touch of political whimsey, since none is known to exist which meets the full requirements of the exemption.) The bill gives a substantial boost to religious schools but is a boomerang to voters who supported in good faith the 1944 welfare amendment. At that time Charles W. Lyon, then speaker of the Assembly, and Thomas A. Maloney, speaker *pro tem*, assured the voters in the official argument for the measure that "schools other than colleges will not be exempted under this amendment because the Legislature expressly eliminated the term 'educational'." The original intent of the legislators and voters specifically to exclude elementary and secondary parochial schools from the advantages of the welfare exemption is deliberately reversed in the Waters bill.

The referendum temporarily annuls the Waters bill until the voters decide the issue. In the campaign against it prejudice and persecution have been artificially injected and recklessly used as political weapons. Those who oppose tax exemption become the devil's advocate—anti-Christian, anti-religious, or just anti-Catholic. The "character of the principal opposition" is described by the Committee for Justice in Education as "those who believe in a state monopoly of education" and "those who believe in the subversion of our free institutions by inciting distrust, disunity, and controversy." The popular position for public officials and political candidates is to support the religious schools by pleading for religious "unity" and "equity" or emphasizing that, after all, a paltry $650,000 in tax money is involved. Many will follow the lead of the Democratic and Republican parties and will duck the issue entirely.

Of major political-action groups, only organized

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labor has as yet taken a stand on the question. Union leaders have unhesitatingly indorsed the Waters bill and denounced the referendum. The state A. F. of L. found the exemption of parochial schools "in line with the historical position . . . to advance education every possible way." The C. I. O., referring to the opponents of exemption, was resolved to "root out this cellar society whose purpose it is to breed religious hatred." A few days after Assemblyman Waters said he had a "hunch" that such racists as Gerald L. K. Smith were supporting the referendum, a Los Angeles labor leader expressed "suspicion" of the sources of referendum funds.

While making numerous sorties in other directions, proponents of the tax exemption would like to confine the argument to an analysis of fiscal policies and revenue. If the parochial-school system did not exist, they say, and if its 160,000 students were suddenly thrust upon the public schools, the state would be forced to expend $43,000,000 in operating expenses and $150,000,000 in construction costs to accommodate the additional load. The $650,000 tax exemption is thus regarded as fair compensation for relieving over-crowded public schoolrooms of a hypothetical "burden" of parochial-school children. To reward this "public service" with taxes on school property is "discriminatory" and "unfair." Indeed, the "essential functions" of these schools, according to campaign literature, are to "reduce substantially the burden of taxation" and provide a "guaranty that education will not become a state monopoly dominated by political thinking."

The natural appeal of economy is somewhat obscured by the insistence of spokesmen for the Waters bill that "it's not the money; it's the principle of the thing." Familiarity with that principle accounts for much of the determined opposition to parochial-school expansion with public funds. As sponsors and directors of the referendum campaign, the California Taxpayers' Alliance, founded in 1933 to defeat a similar proposal, considers the referendum long-range insurance against future demands upon public tax moneys for buses, textbooks, teachers' salaries, and other services for parochial schools. The Alliance represents a cross-section of opinion which is dormant except when challenged to action. It appeals alike to harassed taxpayers, advocates of a strict separation between church and state, and devoted protectors of the public schools. Prominent Masons, Christian Scientists, and leaders of other denominations participate as individuals, not as group representatives.

The agitation provoked by President Truman's proposed appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican has provided the Alliance, and numerous Protestant synods also protesting the tax exemption, with a ready-made audience. While waging a limited battle "against the continuing purposes of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to attain political power through the eventual control of all education," the Alliance stresses that the referendum "is not a question of the right of religious groups to conduct their own private schools, nor is it an attack upon these schools." Advocates of a school system "which subordinates education to religious instruction and the propagation of one faith to the exclusion of all others" are conceded the right to build and maintain their own schools. If the costs voluntarily assumed "do not justify the ends they seek, then they are free to discontinue their schools and educate their children at public expense."

After the first flood of election hyperbole, major emphasis in the tax-exemption fight will probably settle where it belongs, on the implicit threat to the public schools. California voters must decide whether they want to encourage the expansion of a private, sectarian school system at the cost not of a mere $650,000 but of loss of pride and confidence in the public-school system. Perhaps the Jesuit magazine *America* is correct when it states, "The Catholic and non-Catholic school systems are absolutely irreconcilable." Certainly, moral and financial support of the public schools is not encouraged when the system is described as "political education," and "the precursor of autocracy," and its defenders are associated with subversion and bigotry.

High Tariffs vs. Foreign Policy

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

DURING the next few weeks governments of many countries will be keeping an eye on Washington to see whether the United States will continue to practice as well as preach the gospel of freer international trade. Before Congress are two bills with an important bearing on this question. One is a measure, supported by the Administration, for the simplification of customs regulations and procedures which would eliminate some of the hazards and delays that now face importers of foreign goods. Protests by American interests have already led to weakening of this bill and its ultimate fate remains uncertain.

Of greater immediate interest to some of America's trading partners is the bill to extend the Defense Production Act. Although one of the primary purposes of this act was prevention of inflation, representatives of the

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dairy states succeeded last year in inserting a clause authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to restrict the importation of milk products. The result has been a drastic limitation by quota of cheese imports which has forced up prices of many types of cheese and brought protests from Denmark, Canada, Holland, Italy, and a number of other countries. Retention of this clause in a new Defense Production Act will suggest to many foreign traders that protectionism is making a comeback.

Another straw in the wind will be the decision of the Tariff Commission, due not later than June 15, on a request by a motorcycle manufacturer for increased tariffs. This application, like a number of others on file, invokes Section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951 which instructed the Tariff Commission to investigate any complaint that a concession granted under a trade agreement has caused, or threatens to cause, "serious injury" to a domestic industry. Since the motorcycle case is the first to be investigated under Section 7, its disposition will provide a clue to the commission's interpretation of the phrase "serious injury."

While awaiting the outcome of these various legislative and administrative actions, foreign observers are also concerned about the party platforms that will be constructed at the July conventions. In particular, as there appears to be a strong possibility of a Republican victory, they are wondering whether the G. O. P. has learnt anything about the facts of economic life during its long political exile or whether it will stand pat on its traditional protectionist plank. This is a question of immediate importance since the Trade Agreements Act will expire next year.

IT WOULD be difficult to maintain that the reduction of American tariff since the first Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 has resulted in floods of imports threatening to drown out American business. During the whole period, in fact, the United States has consistently exported more than it has imported and since 1946 its export surplus has averaged almost $5 billion annually. Although the balance of trade favors this country so heavily, any increased importation of any particular line of goods is likely to send representatives of the industry concerned howling to Washington for "relief." In the lexicons of many businessmen, farmers, and labor leaders, foreign competition is always unfair competition.

Consider, for example, the claims of the cheesemakers at whose behest Midwestern legislators sneaked Section 104 into the Defense Production Act of 1951. The flood of imports which they assert was threatening their livelihood amounted at no time to more than 5 per cent of domestic production. Moreover these imports included considerable quantities of sheep's and goat's milk cheese which are not manufactured here on a commercial basis. Nevertheless, the Secretary of Agriculture felt compelled by Section 104 to limit cheese imports for the year ending June 30 next to 30 per cent less than the 1950 total. This is a real blow to some of the best foreign customers of the United States, such as Denmark and Italy, which have depended on cheese for some 10 per cent of their export dollars. It has also been a blow to American consumers, who have seen prices of many varieties of cheese rise steeply since the quota was imposed last August. The wholesale price of domestic Swiss on May 2 was about 33 per cent higher than on August 24, 1951.

In a memorandum sent to the Department of State on April 9, the British Embassy in Washington described

the anxiety caused to British exporters by the growing numbers of applications by American industries for relief under Section 7 of the Trade Agreements Act of 1951. British manufacturers, it pointed out, had been urged, not only by their own government, but by the United States, to push their wares in America with a view to reducing the "dollar gap." Now "they are perturbed by the mounting evidence that any marked success in selling their goods in the United States will be encountered by applications from American industry for further protection and the fear that some at least of these applications will be granted."

One British industry that has put both money and energy into building an American market since the war is the motorcycle industry, which has long led the world in the production of medium-weight machines appealing to young sportsmen. In this country the most important manufacturer of motorcycles is the Harley-Davidson Company of Milwaukee, which has specialized in a type of heavy machine favored by police forces and the military. This company has not hitherto stirred itself to produce sports models, yet now that British and European makers have created an entirely new market for such models, it is claiming "serious injury."

The present tariff on motorcycles is 10 per cent *ad valorem,* the rate fixed by the Tariff Act of 1930, while that on parts is 15 per cent. By recent trade agreements the United States has bound itself not to increase these rates. The Harley-Davidson Company wants the Tariff Commission to recommend an increase in the rate on machines to 40 per cent and in the rate on parts to 50 per cent and, pending necessary legislation, asks for a quota on imports of 10 per cent of the previous year's domestic production. In 1950—the last year for which complete figures are available—Harley-Davidson produced 17,024 motorcycles while imports numbered 9,426 (over 80 per cent of which were British). Al-

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though imports form a relatively high proportion of the total supply, there is no evidence that they have cut into Harley-Davidson's sales to public authorities: the company's established position and the "Buy American" Act afford it sufficient protection there. However, since filing its application with the Tariff Commission, Harley-Davidson has launched a new model which will have to compete with the lighter imported machines. Thus what it is really seeking is the practical exclusion of foreign manufacturers from a market which they actually created.

This seems such a flagrant bid for monopoly that it is hard to believe that the Tariff Commission will recommend any increase in the tariff. Should it do so, applications for "relief" will pour in from every industry that finds it is in the slightest degree inconvenienced by foreign competition. And foreign exporters in increasing numbers will ask: Why spend money in adapting designs for the American market, in building sales organizations, in maintaining adequate stocks, if as soon as we begin to attract customers, our trade is cut off by higher tariffs or quotas? Better to forget America and urge our governments to hustle up more trade through bilateral agreements.

Tariff propagandists argue that the industrialist who seeks additional protection is strictly within his legal rights. That is true and it is also true that Article XIX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (G. A. T, T.), which was promoted by the United States as a means of breaking down trade barriers, provides for withdrawal of tariff concessions, in exceptional circumstances, by any signatory. Nevertheless, as the British memorandum pointed out, the whole purpose of G. A. T. T. would be defeated if Article XIX were invoked frivolously, and particularly if "the major creditor country in the world were to set an example of withdrawing tariff concessions whenever they revealed their effectiveness through more vigorous competition between the imported and the domestically produced product."

It is saddening, and even frightening, that this debate should have to be continued at all. Here is a country which is the leading exponent of competitive free enterprise, which has an industrial capacity greater than all Europe put together, which rightly prides itself on its superior technical efficiency, which so consistently undersells foreign producers that year after year its exports vastly exceed its imports. Yet this country believes that, unless it continues to cling to the old tariff nurse that protected it in infancy, it will be knocked out by the neighbors.

The American tariff is an anachronism. That fact has been recognized by Democratic Secretaries of State since Cordell Hull, but pressure from vested interests has forced them to move very slowly toward its abolition. As for the Republicans, a majority clearly believe that the tariff plank they nailed to their platform seventy years or more ago is as good as ever. It is almost certain to be reaffirmed at Chicago in July unless General Eisenhower speaks out boldly. He, at least, must have learned from his experiences in Europe that the Western alliance is doomed if this country pursues policies that encourage internecine economic warfare, and must agree with the *Wall Street Journal's* editorial comment: "It is obvious that a return to high tariff protection on our part will be glaringly inconsistent with a policy of appropriating Treasury funds to shore up the economies of other countries in the hope of assuring their political devotion to 'the West.'" It will be interesting to hear General Eisenhower on this subject.

Levittown in Bucks County

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

Bristol, Pa.

WHEN 300 workers from the powerful Building Trades Council of Philadelphia (A. F. of L.) recently threw a picket line across the entrance of the mammoth Levittown housing project near here, it was a familiar story to builder William J. Levitt. The same thing happened to him during his debut into the mass-housing field on Long Island in 1947—and for the same reasons.

Levitt's local project is part of an industrial and general building boom which is threatening, among other things, to chase the artists and writers out of historic and beautiful Bucks county. The biggest single industrial development in the area is the $500,000,000 United States Steel Corporation plant—called Fairless after the firm's famous executive vice-president—in neighboring Morrisville. It has been predicted that the industrial boom will bring at least 100,000 workers into the area and Levittown is designed to accommodate 50,000 of them.

Levitt has been called the Henry Ford of the housing industry; he mass-produces his houses in "cycles." First

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a team of bulldozers scoops out a block of perhaps fifty foundation excavations; a crew follows to lay down the foundations; another crew sets up the walls in assembly-line fashion. Roof and interior soon follow, and then detail and trim. Here at Levittown the schedule calls for construction of nearly 6,000 houses a year for three years—an average of nineteen per working day.

The picketing union workers charge that while Levitt likes to deal with materials *en masse,* he prefers to deal with his employees on an individual basis. Specifically, members of the Philadelphia council charge that 400 of the 600 men employed in building Levittown are non-union; that skilled mechanics are made to perform a variety of jobs which cut across craft lines and thereby violate union rules; that many of the workers are paid on a piece-work instead of an hourly basis.

Ralph W. Myers, Levitt's public-relations man, admits that "some of the work is done on piece-work basis," but insists that in most cases wages are paid on an hourly scale. On the open-shop charge, his reply isn't at all evasive: "Mr. Levitt, biggest builder in the country, has been in business for twenty-two years and has never had a union shop." Presumably he never intends to have one. Last week he got a county court order enjoining the pickets. The injunction was not obeyed and state police were called out by Governor Fine to "provide whatever assistance is needed" to preserve order.

LEVITT is likely to meet trouble in fields other than labor. There is the question of racial discrimination. According to the Philadelphia Housing Authority, about a half-million Negroes live in the metropolitan area and a lot of them are going to be employed in Bucks county. Where will they live? In Levittown?

The other day I dropped into a Levittown office and applied for a house. "But," I told the salesman, "there's something I want to ask you about that's very important to me." The salesman lifted a reassuring hand. "You mean the talk that's going around about colored people living here?" he asked. "Listen, this is the point of sale—strictly between you and me—and believe me, we sell to whites only, mister."

Under Pennsylvania law, housing for Negroes is guaranteed in all residential construction aided by public funds—as is Levittown. Confronted with this issue, Levitt said he wasn't planning to make any "noble experiments" but added that, if necessary, he would build a separate community for Negroes "with their own clubhouse." The builder's efforts to maintain a "lily-white" clause in his Long Island leases were defeated by the stubborn opposition of liberal New Yorkers. But here, as there, he can attempt to keep his community white by adroit manipulation of his sales instead of his leases.

Levitt's disinclination for "noble experiments" extends into other areas. For instance, he doesn't like to mix varied economic groups in a single area. His "Country Clubber" houses, most expensive of the Levittown models, sell for $17,000, and are separated from the $10,000 homes designed for housing-starved veterans and defense workers. Moreover, there are reports that he doesn't like to mix Democrats with Republicans, either. The story is that he has assured Joseph R. Grundy, boss of the Pennsylvania Republican machine, that Levittown won't become infested with too many Democrats. It would be a neat trick, though obviously difficult of accomplishment.

Levittown is only one factor—albeit an important one—in the metamorphosis of Bucks county from bucolic retreat to factory-plus-suburb. Other similar developments are beginning to dot the rolling countryside, including one being built by United States Steel. Public-spirited citizens complain that there is no overall planning, no proper zoning, no proper conservation of the area's natural beauty. The Philadelphia Housing Association has warned:

> The open green of the countryside can all too easily be changed . . . into the dirty, foul-smelling crowded landscape of badly-planned factories, hot-dog stands, service stations, and a wilderness of trailer camps and jerry-built speculative developments.

The United Automobile Workers of America (C. I. O.) and the United Steelworkers of America (C. I. O.) have expressed similar uneasiness, and not only about the physical changes in the region. Charles Ford, regional director of the Steelworkers union insists that "democratic growth" must accompany material well-being in an intelligently-planned community. Drayton Bryant, imaginative and dynamic assistant to the Executive Director of the Philadelphia Housing Authority, points out that Levittown failure to adopt a program of racial integration can mean:

> . . . separate housing, separate schools, plus lines of tension in home and community facilities. . . . The steps are short from separation and ignorance to suspicion—from fear to hatred and then violence. Levittown and Bucks county have now become an outstanding opportunity and a national front line for the growth of a strong but adolescently fearful American democracy.

Acutely aware of the dangers implicit in the shattering of the Bucks county idyll, a group of representative citizens have formed a Human Relations Council under the chairmanship of Clarence Pickett, honorary secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. The council will seek to make sure that the area has enough schools, playgrounds, and other facilities and does not secede from the Bill of Rights.

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That Nietzsche Book

By ALFRED WERNER

PERHAPS the most sensational book of the winter season was a volume entitled "My Sister and I" which was published, advertised, and reviewed as the autobiography of Friedrich Nietzsche which the German philosopher is supposed to have written in a psychiatric clinic in 1889. The book recounts an astonishing tale of sexual abnormality which begins with a description of an incestuous relationship between the philosopher and his sister.

The autobiography is said to have been posthumously discovered, but there is mounting evidence, circumstantial but nevertheless very persuasive, that the manuscript on which the book is based was also posthumously written. This belief is fortified by the opinion of Nietzsche experts that from 1889 until his death in 1900 the insane Nietzsche was quite incapable of writing anything which required mental exertion, especially a reminiscent and philosophical work. In addition, the book contains many ideas and attitudes which were not current at the time "My Sister and I" was written. For example, although Sigmund Freud's main theories were not published until about 1900, Nietzsche was apparently familiar with them in 1889. Nietzsche also exhibits a miraculous power of foresight. He prophesies, for instance, that his superman concept would be distorted to serve evil ends; he also predicts that "in the 20th century in a fit of nihilistic frenzy they [the Germans] will turn all Europe into a butcher's slaughterhouse and wash away their sins in the blood of Israel." Anticipating the day when Karl Marx would be put on the political index of the West, Nietzsche says, "I avoid reading Marx as passionately as I pursue every new paragraph of Heine's." (This passage is suspect on other grounds as well. There were no "new" paragraphs by Heine in 1889 for the simple reason that the poet had been dead for more than thirty years at the time Nietzsche was committed.) Incidentally, there are no references to Marx in the philosopher's collected works.

The most questionable aspect of the book, however, is the autobiographical material it presents. According to Nietzsche authorities and his contemporaries, the philosopher led a temperate, modest life except for a tragic experience in his youth. In "My Sister and I" "evidence" is produced for the first time which runs counter to this well-authenticated body of opinion. The author of the "autobiography" traces Nietzsche's sex life from one excess to another, his alleged conquests including Richard Wagner's wife, Cosima, a sadistic "countess," and a number of women of less repute.

A third count against the authenticity of the book is the fact that it is supposed to have been translated by the eminent German-born scholar, Oscar Levy. If this occurred, according to his daughter, Maud Rosenthal, it is the only work of Nietzsche he ever translated. Since Dr. Levy was the editor of the monumental eighteen-volume English translation of Nietzsche's works published between 1910 and 1927, it seems strange indeed that he did not include the "autobiography" which Samuel Roth, publisher of Boar's Head Books, claims to have turned over to him in 1921 for translation. A host of other questions spring up around the authorship of the translation and the introduction which is also credited to Dr. Levy. Why, for example, did Dr. Levy, who lived in England, use so many Americanisms? Why, to quote Dr. Levy's son-in-law, is there "complete nonexistence of any written or verbal allusion to the work during the twenty-four years in which Dr. Levy is said to have had knowledge of the 'text'?" How could a scholar of Dr. Levy's reputation and vast knowledge commit the simple academic errors which appear throughout the preface? Is it really possible, as the publisher insists, that the original manuscript was lost when John S. Sumner, head of the Society to Maintain Public Decency, raided his office in 1927? If so, where is the manuscript of the translation? Why did Samuel Roth tell this reporter when he was trying to authenticate the translation that Dr. Levy had died a bachelor? If the publisher would produce the translation it could easily be proved whether it was typed, as Mr. Roth claims it was, on Dr. Levy's typewriter (still extant) and whether the spelling of various words was originally British rather than American as they appear in the book.

If these questions could be cleared up and the apparent errors and distortions in "My Sister and I" satisfactorily explained then the book would be, as it has been called by so many critics, one of the most sensational literary discoveries of the last fifty years. On the other hand if they cannot, as this writer firmly believes, then the evidence would seem to indicate that, as Walter A. Kaufmann of Princeton and other Nietzsche scholars insist, a malicious hoax has been perpetrated.

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Among many important books to be reviewed in The Nation *during coming weeks are Reinhold Niebuhr's "The Irony of American History," to be reviewed by Francis Biddle, and two works by important British writers: Chester Wilmot's "The Struggle for Europe," to be reviewed by H. A. DeWeerd, and D. W. Brogan's "The Price of Revolution," to be reviewed by Philip E. Mosely.*

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

AN UNDISCOVERED LANGUAGE

BY HELEN M. LYND

ONE reason for wanting to be alive five hundred years from now is curiosity about how future generations will appraise the interpretation of human nature which stems from Freud.

No such curiosity disturbs Andrew Salter. He has no doubt of the verdict. He says of his recent attack on psychoanalysis,* which follows his earlier "Conditioned Reflex Therapy": "There is no need to lie or to quote out of context. The truth is preposterous enough, . . . Freud himself provides the evidence that refutes him . . . [the] underlying theories of [psychoanalytic therapy] are not only incredible but . . . unsound, the therapeutic principles derived from them can only . . . serve as guideposts on the road to . . . futility."

The book sets out to show that Freud himself has made such a burlesque of psychoanalysis that attempts by his critics to demonstrate its absurdity are superfluous. It is not difficult to select statements from Freud which can be presented in a ridiculous light. Salter does, nevertheless, find it necessary to suppress counter-evidence and to isolate quotations from context and implication in order to carry through his burlesque. He relies heavily on Robert R. Sears's "Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts," a survey singularly lacking in imaginative grasp of the materials it deals with, and making use of piecemeal methods as inadequate for appraisal of psychoanalysis as elementary algebra for dealing with quantum physics.

Salter's way of treating evidence appears in his use of the 1940 symposium on "Psychoanalysis as Seen by Analyzed Psychologists." Eight well-known experimental and clinical psychologists all of whom had been analyzed contributed to the discussion. Of these Salter quotes only two, Carney Landis, the one most critical of psychoanalysis, and Edwin G. Boring, who expressed grave doubts about the personal benefits and the scientific value of psychoanalysis. He makes no mention of the other six, all of whom, although they made specific criticisms of method and theory, were in varying degrees favorable to psychoanalysis because of the personal insights they had gained from it and of their belief in its contributions to the science of psychology. Henry A. Murray, for example, says: ". . . Psychoanalysis . . . furnishes—despite its logical fallacies and omissions . . . the best cornerstone for the future development of psychology." Elsie Frankel Brunswick, David Shakow, and the others make similar statements about the importance of psychoanalysis for psychological theory and of the experience of personal analysis for the academic psychologist. All of this Salter ignores.

Similar biased selection and juggling of evidence appears in the use Salter makes of Freud's own writings. He blames Freud severely for saying that all people are alike in suffering from an Oedipus complex, but later he himself makes an equally over-simplified judgment of all people: ". . . in essence Pavlov's *conditioned reflex therapy declares that fundamentally everybody has the same problem and the same cure* (italics in original)."

His quotation from Freud's "The Question of Lay Analysis"—"Among the causes of and occasions for neurotic complaints sexual factors play an important, an overweening—even perhaps a specific role"—is taken from a section where Freud's main emphasis is on the moral responsibility of observing confidence in analysis because of the intimate nature of the material. He says that "psychoanalysts are of the opinion that the *only way* to cure patients is to influence them by sexualized suggestion—*transference*, as they call it," although this contradicts what Freud explicitly said in the passage quoted above and elsewhere about the necessity for the analyst not to introduce "sexual suggestion" and what he has said elsewhere about "transference."

This slippery treatment of evidence is bolstered by invective and vulgarizing figures of speech: the patient lies on the analyst's couch "as in an undertaker's parlor"; "Freud made no fundamental change in his recipe. The psychoanalytic cake remains completely sexual. Only a few scattered raisins of death instinct and aggression have been added." ". . . the psychoanalytic grab bag of conceits has had new booby prizes added to it."

The most significant questions raised by Salter's book, however, do not concern its obvious defects in taste and accuracy; they do not prove anything one way or the other about Freudian theory. Eulogies by ardent pro-Freudians have shown similar lack of discrimination. Furthermore, all misrepresentation aside, there is still the fact that Freud did at times speak of id, ego, and super-ego, of Oedipus complex and death wish, as if they were not figures of speech attempting to describe elusive phenomena, but as if they had a kind of substantial existence established by some equivalent of scientific proof. And it does not need Salter to point out people for whom psychoanalysis has been a failure.

What then? We do dream. We are beset by anxieties, compulsions, and seemingly senseless errors whose source we can not readily trace or control. Our illness and our health appear to contain psychological as well as physical elements. If such "irrational" phenomena are not to make cowards of us all we must seek some way of understanding them. Freud with a wealth of clinical observation attempted to explore this undiscovered country and to establish a continuum between these aberrant aspects of human behavior and "rational" waking life. He developed bold

* *The Case Against Psychoanalysis.* By Andrew Salter. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

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hypotheses to explain what he found and shaped a new vocabulary or extended the meaning of older words to express his theories. It is easy enough to ridicule, as Salter has done, his words, any particular theory or metaphor, or any particular outcome of therapy. But what are we to do with the phenomena Freud attempted to explain? We must either deny that dreams, fantasies, neurotic illness have any meaning in relation to other human experience or attempt to discover what that meaning is.

Two books* by Dr. Marguerite A. Sechehaye, a Swiss psychoanalyst, record such an attempt at discovery. The main difference between Salter's and Sechehaye's approach is not that the one is anti-Freudian, the other pro-Freudian (Dr. Sechehaye is not pro-Freudian in any rigid or orthodox sense); not that the one resorts to misrepresentation to prove a case and the other is a careful descriptive account (there are doubtless errors as there are clearly omissions in Dr. Sechehaye's record). The difference lies in the contrast between thinking that the explanations of "irrational" human experience are easy or self-evident and the recognition that they are incalculably difficult; between thinking that only the more obvious and observably repetitive aspects of human existence are of serious importance and the belief that no human experience however unusual or rooted in the "foul rag-and-bone shop of the heart" is without meaning or can be excluded from the attempt to understand.

"Reality Lost and Regained" is the autobiography of a schizophrenic girl from her first recalled disturbing experience of unreality at the age of five to her resumption of normal life in her late twenties, with an interpretative note by Dr. Sechehaye, who supervised or carried on her treatment from the time she was eighteen. In "Symbolic Realization" Dr. Sechehaye gives a more detailed account of the various methods of therapy attempted during a period of ten years, those which failed and those which finally led to recovery. This book also includes a series of drawings by the patient which portray her systematized fantasies at various stages of her illness.

In one sense there is nothing new in these books. There have been other accounts by a patient of a mind that found itself. Other analysts, Harry Stack Sullivan, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, Kurt Eissler—not to mention their historical antecedents—have made similar attempts at exploration. They, like Dr. Sechehaye, have shown almost infinite imagination and patience in their attempts to learn the language and to understand the imagery of schizophrenic individuals in order to establish the communication which must be the preliminary to recovery. They have, also, shown the error of the earlier assumption that the schizophrenic is either happy or without feeling, and the difficulty of understanding with each individual the meaning of his particular expression of feeling. But I know of no other records which bring together in the life history of a single person the autobiography of the patient, the drawings which present different stages of the illness, and the account of the analyst of successive efforts to reach communication.

This is by no means to say that these accounts leave nothing to be desired. There is naiveté and stiffness in Dr. Sechehaye's phrasing, which may be due in part to defects in translation. Her use of "symbol" is not clearly enough distinguished from sign, image, and certain types of concrete experience. In some places there are omissions where fullness of detail would be particularly desirable. Dr. Sechehaye's theoretical explanations are not as convincing as her descriptions of what took place.

But the inadequacies do not lessen the importance of attempting to understand what these records represent. From the side of the patient they give a poignantly vivid description of the shifting appearance of the world of unreality which gradually encompassed her: the "illimitable vastness, brilliant light and the gloss and smoothness" as well as the hardness and separateness of material things; the horror of being unable to find ways to communicate the altered sense of space, size, and detail which so frightened her. She relates, too, why certain seemingly slight changes in treatment brought to a full stop her sense of hope of being understood and helped, and why other changes gave her the confidence to try to surmount alienation and find ways to express what she felt. She explains how what appeared to the doctors as delusions were, in some instances, attempts to make less frightening what she could not find words to describe in any other terms which would be understood. It must be remembered that this is the record of a person whose illness would until recently have meant the abandonment of all hope, who had to be forcibly fed, subjected to restraints, and who was for long periods without any means of communication whatever.

Dr. Sechehaye's report on the various methods of treatment which failed (hypnosis, Freudian methods, and adaptations of Freudian methods) show that trained analytic skill, patience, love, and consistent efforts at understanding may not in themselves be adequate to the treatment of severe mental illness. For six years she tried all of these in various combinations and failed, failed sometimes after much progress had been made because she did not interpret correctly a cue from the patient, or because she did not take sufficiently into account the patient's hypersensitivity to any hidden, unspoken mood of the doctor. It was only when she had learned the language of her patient (including the special meaning to her of certain gestures, colors, tastes, and objects) that she could find ways of translating her skill and patience and love into ways of communication which would reach the schizophrenic. This was a learning process for the doctor. Only after this process had been mastered so that she could enter into the total world of this particular patient was there the confidence and interchange which made it possible for her to begin to bring her patient back to the language of "reality."

Specialists in the treatment of serious mental disorders will appraise this account in terms of its technical value to them. For others, psychotherapists dealing with milder difficulties, teachers, and parents, its chief value lies in what it suggests about the art of communication in the broadest sense. The schizophrenic forces upon the analyst the need to learn a new language; if he is to communicate at all the more conventional and less discriminating rubrics will not serve. Although analysts may appear to get by without this effort in

* *Reality Lost and Regained: Autobiography of a Schizophrenic Girl.* With Analytic Interpretation by Marguerite A. Sechehaye. Grune and Stratton. $2.75.

Symbolic Realization: A New Method of Psychotherapy Applied to a Case of Schizophrenia. By Marguerite A. Sechehaye. International Universities Press. $3.25.

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dealing with less disturbed individuals, it is coming to be more recognized that comparable although less dramatic diversity is present in the linguistic expression and emotional life of all persons. The patience and imagination which Sechehaye and Fromm-Reichmann use with schizophrenics need not be confined to treatment of the most severe disorders. As analysts are able to use similar methods with neurotics their treatment may give less basis for the complaints of Salter and others of fitting each patient into the mold of a particular analytic school, and the results may show as marked improvement as there has been in the treatment of more severe illness.

In much the same way education of normal children has often benefited from methods first developed with the ill or retarded; and teachers still have much to learn from such accounts as Dr. Sechehaye's. Would the aims of education and child rearing be more fully realized if more imaginative effort were used in learning the language of the individual child (not just the language which Freudian or any other theory assumed in advance that he has) before teaching him the language of the adult or of the assumed child world? Such studies as Jean Piaget's and Ernest Schachtel's "Memory and Childhood Amnesia" suggest that this may be the case, and that all the recent emphasis on seeing the world through the eyes of the child still fails to take full account of the possibilities. Stress on learning the language of individuals does not contradict Sullivan's statement that we are all more simply human than we are diverse. But it does suggest that we may have prematurely classified differences, and that we are currently at a stage where inductive study is once again needed. Only after we have learned how to become at home in the world of a particular child, a particular schizophrenic, a particular neurotic can we begin once more the search for common human elements.

The question of finding ways of testing Freud's hypotheses still remains. It cannot be solved by viewing them wholly from the outside as Sears and Salter do, nor wholly from the inside as some Freudians have done. It is no criticism of Freud's theories that he himself changed and criticized them and that later workers have continued to do so. Any future appraisal of Freud and his work must give full weight to such records as Dr. Sechehaye's. There is a world and a language which lies outside the range of rational adult life, and the exploration of the meaning of this language is no insignificant part of the human endeavor.

World Government

HOW TO CO-EXIST WITHOUT PLAYING THE KREMLIN'S GAME. By James P. Warburg. The Beacon Press. $3.

IN AN up-to-date and pungent analysis of the perilous state of world affairs Mr. Warburg has pointed out what he regards as the strong and weak points of American foreign policy and urges his fellow-citizens to do something, or various things, about it. His comments and criticisms are often penetrating, and in speaking out he is performing a patriotic duty. Certainly, American foreign policy, if it is to receive widespread support among democratic allies, must be, basically, a coalition policy. Undoubtedly, racial discriminations are a tragic anachronism in America, and abroad they make millions of enemies for this country. Granted, American foreign policy cannot rest (when has it?) solely on military power, but must make plain, for people everywhere to see, that it seeks to promote self-advancement and freedom through economic and political cooperation. Admittedly, the claim of America to stand for intellectual freedom is ominously weakened when admission is denied to scholars and artists, as well as less gifted persons, on grounds which remain undisclosed and hence unchallengeable by common sense.

Even if these and numerous other correctives to a strong tendency toward national self-righteousness (called "hypocrisy" by friends as well as enemies) be accepted and taken to heart, the question still remains whether Mr. Warburg is advocating a consistent foreign policy. It is clear that he disapproves, at least mildly, the Uniting for Peace resolution, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1950, and feels that its critics are justified in regarding it as "illegal," even though he considers the United Nations a political device rather than a rule based on law. On the other hand, the United States is at fault also, he feels, in not having worked harder to strengthen the United Nations between 1945 and 1948. Apparently, the United States was at fault when it tried to work within the original concept of great-power dominance within the United Nations, and it is again at fault when it strives to make the United Nations more than a bureau for registering Soviet vetoes of actions approved by a large majority of its members.

Mr. Warburg is convinced that in 1945 it was possible, by American fiat or American force, to create "an au-

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thority superior to the nations—an authority created by all the world's peoples in order to outlaw force or the threat of force as a means of settling disputes between national governments, and in order to remove the instruments of force from the reach of any national government." And he believes that even today such an initiative would win the support of all except the Soviet and Soviet-controlled governments.

Just when Mr. Warburg's position seemed clear, though too optimistic and too much inclined to believe in a universal acquiescence in a *Pax Americana,* this reviewer was surprised to see a warning finger raised. Suddenly he read that "we shall never succeed in transforming the United Nations into an effective world organization, if we yield to the admittedly great and understandable temptation to renounce the principle of universality and to convert the United Nations into an anti-Soviet coalition." However it is read, this argument appears to assume that a world government (not of the Soviet type) can be established with the active cooperation of the Soviet government. Perhaps Mr. Warburg has some private evidence that the Soviet leadership may wish to destroy itself in this manner; without it, the assumption seems farfetched.

Mr. Warburg assumes that the Soviet government maintains an iron curtain through "fear of espionage and sabotage; fear of discontent, if the Russian people were allowed to compare their living standards and conditions with those prevalent in free societies; and fear that a free flow of information might expose the errors of the Kremlin and undermine the doctrine of Kremlin infallibility." These are motives which might guide any old-fashioned, slipshod, authoritarian regime. The Soviet leadership, however, feels a positive duty, not merely to exclude undesired influences, but actively to mold, direct, and exploit to the maximum the psychological or spiritual resources, which it has appropriated or "monopolized," of its subjects. It is hard to see how Mr. Warburg can expect leaders who have risen to vast power under such a system to accept and implement his proposals for establishing a universal world government based upon free consent freely given and renewed.

PHILIP E. MOSELY

Literary Bazaar

NEW WORLD WRITING. First Mentor Selection. New American Library. Fifty cents.

ONE of the great cultural paradoxes of our time is the increasing isolation of American writers in the midst of the largest potential audience any writers have ever had. The powerlessness of the literary intellectual, his awareness that he can no longer assume a stable audience to which he may address himself, although the mass audience for the subliterary products of mass culture is constantly growing—these have impelled critics to a number of wrongheaded conclusions.

We have had serious artists condemned for being out of step with "the masses"—whether because they would not write patriotic tracts, or proletarian novels, or *kitsch*—and on the other hand we have had the avant garde exhorted to stand fast against the advance of the comic-book barbarians, who attack to the sound of singing commercials. But there have been almost no thoughtful attempts, with a few honorable exceptions such as the books of Gilbert Seldes, to bridge the widening gap between serious art and popular culture. Wherefore we have cause to be grateful to the New American Library for the initiative and resourcefulness it has displayed in extending its hospitality—and its publishing and merchandising resources—to novelists, critics, poets, and short-story writers, in the manner of the British Penguin New Writing series.

"New World Writing," however, is more than merely another little magazine, if only because of its circulation as a Mentor Book, which will place it within reach of many thousands of Americans who might otherwise never have the opportunity to discover the younger writers. The sheer quantity and variety, furthermore, are closer to an anthology of current writing, or a "bazaar" as the editors call it, than to a periodical which is more restricted both in space and in range of interests.

Naturally with such variety there are bound to be corresponding extremes of quality; but among the essays, for example, Charles J. Rolo's glib and superficial revelations about Simenon and Spillane, and Oliver Evans's earnest and stuffy treatment of Carson McCullers are more than balanced by such excellent pieces as a chapter on Negro writers (although it oddly omits mention of James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison) from Alain Locke's forthcoming "The Negro in American Culture" and a well-illustrated and intriguing analysis of "The Buildings We See" by Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip C. Johnson.

The poetry, carefully chosen so as not to overwhelm or frighten the casual reader, ranges from the cerebral to the lyrical, and presents several younger poets, in addition to Merton, Nemerov, Brinnin, Frankenburg, and Moss.

But it is the fiction that raises the most interesting questions about the nature and function of a pioneering enterprise like "New World Writing." There is an international flavor which is all to the good: French and Italian novelists are represented in translation, besides a fine cross-section of Americans, and there is surely reason to hope that future issues will bring us samples of the work of the younger English and German prose writers. There is also, however, a flavor of the excerpt yanked from its context, of the chapter from a longer work rushed into print for reasons other than its intrinsic interest as a self-contained aesthetic statement.

One reads the fourteen fiction pieces and observes that six of them are excerpts from novels (this does not include the non-fiction pieces also taken from larger works), and one wonders whether this indicates a resurgence of the attraction of the novel for young writers and a corresponding weakening of the appeal of the story form, even when writers are invited to display their wares in a perishable soft-cover periodical. Of course there are valid reasons for both editors and contributors to publish excerpts of works in progress—it has become a standard practice in the quarterlies, where chapters of novels are often the only fiction presented; but one feels bound to note that when half a dozen sections from novels are included in one volume, there is inevitably an effect of scrappiness. Certainly the most satisfying work of fiction in this volume is a remarkable long short story, Faces of Hatred and of Love, by the brilliant young Frenchman, Jean-Baptiste Rossi.

At any rate it seems apparent that

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the editors of "New World Writing" are receptive to writers who have few outlets for their serious work, and one can hope that this receptivity will encourage new writers to be faithful to themselves, and to grasp the opportunity to be free of the restrictions of length and style imposed by other large-circulation magazines. One of the most praiseworthy aspects of this exciting new venture is the modesty and straightforwardness with which Arabel J. Porter and the other editors have gone about their task: they neither condescend to their readers nor patronize their writers.

My major complaint is that my copy of "New World Writing" fell apart before I finished one reading, and while you can't have everything for fifty cents, perhaps the publishers will be able to devise some way for the book to hold together for the thousands of readers who may, one hopes, accept it with even more seriousness than those who were farsighted enough to offer it to them. If the public's reception makes possible the regular publication of this literary book-magazine, perhaps other paperbook publishers will be encouraged to follow suit. In that case this little book may turn out to have been an important first step in breaking down the barriers separating writers from a large reading public that deserves so much better than it has been getting, and that has already demonstrated its willingness to accept the best—if it is made available.

HARVEY SWADOS

Derelict Youth

WHO WALK IN DARKNESS. By Chandler Brossard. New Directions. $2.75.

THE young and lost have always had a peculiar fascination for American readers. It's almost as if our writers endowed us, as a people, with the immaturity, the misplaced sensitivity (so close to megalomania), the inability to focus on problems requiring adult responsibility, which characterize the *enfant terrible*.

Starting with World War I, our "young and lost" have always been of age, or well past it. The little lost boy in the adult male, the fragile girl-wife, these and the familiar galaxy of unregenerate, overage children who peopled the literary scene of the twenties, have chiefly occupied our writers until now (with a parenthesis for the proletarian novel and a no less valid one for the novel of war experience). Only now, after World War II, when slews of legal infants (under eighteen) are so visibly, palpably lost, have the new writers begun to train their sights not on the immature adult but on the rootless young.

This derelict youth, buffeted by every wind and unstable as soot, has been good copy since delinquency hit the front page, and lately we have had a spate of novels which, by implication, place the responsibility largely where Cocteau placed it a generation ago, on the *parents terribles*. Two that have packed a punch are "Flee the Angry Strangers" and "Who Walk in Darkness." The former, though the stronger, better constructed, and more absorbing, is so highly specialized in the problem it treats (drug addiction in an adolescent girl) that it somehow misses the wide target. Brossard's book, instead, hits straight to the center. A sense of waste, of betrayal, of unfocused, almost footless rebellion marks each of the principal characters.

The novel deals with a group of casual yet close acquaintances who drift from job to job or, jobless, consider which is the better choice, to continue on unemployment insurance or to find some uninvolving work, like hotel clerking, the better to preserve their intellectual integrity.

The protagonist—at least, the most irritating character—one Henry Porter, is a heel who has the unattractive habits of slickness and opportunism which permit him to get on at some minor literary activity (never specified) apparently without moral qualms. There is Porter's girl, Grace, a finely drawn Italo-American whose love for and dedication to Porter are his redeeming features (he can't be all bad so long as Grace sticks with him, and conversely he becomes all bad when at last Grace drops him, losing first, painfully, her ability to find him important). Then there is Harry, a young New Englander whose fastidious reaction to the phony Porter is one of the few authentically funny things in the book. Harry convincingly portrays the quite bright but distressed young man who goes through life apologizing for having been born solvent. There are, too, Max Glazer, ubiquitous sponger; the narrator, Blake, who falls heir to Grace (and who reminds me of no one so much as of O'Neill's Good Old Charlie); the two models, Gloria and Margaret. And, briefly, there is the world of the big fights (Brossard, having got "Who Walk" out of his system, should, please do some more work on the

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fights: they too are part of the current show and on them he is all good).

Brossard's group of young people ends by being, and I think it was his intention that they be, damn dull company. Though the narration, and at times even the dialogue, are flawed and clumsy, the world he recreates pulses with a true beat. What it adds up to is that self-absorption has taken the place of self-reliance, either intellectual or moral. Impotence to love or let love, to create or appreciate, has robbed these token citizens of the juice of life. Loneliness hag-rides them into pleasureless association with one another and even their rebellion seems fruitless, as they have never stopped to define what they are rebelling against or to what end they erect their barricades.

FRANCES KEENE

Books in Brief

ALEXANDER POPE: CATHOLIC POET. By Francis Beauchesne Thornton. Pellegrini and Cudahy. $4.75. Pope's adherence to the faith of his parents was a notorious disadvantage in his own day, the early eighteenth century, when in England legal sanctions were enforced against religious minorities. In this book Mr. Thornton gives a full treatment to the poet's life and writings, attempting to wring out of them every possible drop of evidence that will show not only Pope's nominal status as a Catholic but also the devout piety that pervaded his life as well as his writings. To be reminded of Pope's religion is useful in dealing with his personality and poetry, for its influence is often overlooked; but it will seem to many that here the thesis is driven far beyond its reasonable limits. In the intellectual circles where Pope rotated, as his letters to non-Catholic friends show, dogma and faith were not taken very seriously. His most extensive treatment of religion is his "Essay on Man"; and when we consider that the poem's strongest personal stimulant was Bolingbroke, a deist, and its chief defender was Warburton, a Church of England clergyman, we get some idea of the protean character of Pope's mind in this matter. Like his "Essay on Criticism" it is a statement of many philosophical and religious currents in the atmosphere of his day; Pope's main contribution to them was to say "what oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed."

NEW DIRECTIONS 13. Edited by James Laughlin. New Directions. $5. If the contents of this anthology point to the new directions that writers are taking today, then they are knocking themselves out standing still. The best prose pieces here are conventional ones that might have been written when our grandmothers were alive—those of De Lanux, Creeley, Kerner, and Paulhan, for example. And when a new direction is actually tried, it usually turns out to be a dead end; Maude Hutchins's short play is killed by cuteness, May Swenson's story by sheer ponderosity. The poetry is more varied and more interesting, much of it sparked by metaphysical wit. And of the essays Harold Guinzburg's reprinted piece on the publishing business is good common sense, Mr. Laughlin's introduction is, as usual, full of sound and fury, and J. B. Pick's meditation giving the average Englishman's thoughts about the present war crisis is eloquently and sweetly reasonable.

A LAND. By Jacquetta Hawkes. Random House. $3.75. This original and often stimulating book oddly combines reverie with scientific fact, mystical speculations with geological data. The author, wife of an Oxford professor of archaeology and with considerable scientific experience of her own, believes like Mary Austin that the land influences the spirit of a people and also, more curiously, that they influence it. To her geologists and archaeologists are "engaged in reawakening the memory of the world." Historical personages, Newton for example, are fossils whose age could be determined by the strata in which they are found and the work of Proust is related to that of the geologists because both have something to do with the fact that "we are returning to an awareness of our unity with our surroundings, but an awareness of a much more exalted kind than anything which has existed before." The industrial revolution violently reversed an old process by removing man from the context of nature to that of the machine but it is still possible that we may find our way back. The publishers compare "The Land" with the vastly popular "The Sea Around Us" and the comparison is not too inapt though the emphasis in the one book is the reverse of that in the other. Miss Carson presents facts with a mystical overtone; Mrs. Hawkes presents many facts but they are used chiefly to support her often elusive but often stimulating speculations.

THE WORLD OF GEORGE JEAN NATHAN. Selected and Edited with an Introduction by Charles Angoff. Knopf. $5. This is an anthology of nearly five hundred pages drawn from Mr. Nathan's thirty-nine books and published for his seventieth birthday. Besides criticism of the drama there are substantial selections from his essays on women, bachelorhood, etc.; reminiscences of Mencken, Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Eugene O'Neill and others; together with assorted pensées such as: "Criticism is the art of appraising others at one's own value" and "I drink to make other people interesting." Those who think of the author as playboy and show-off will be surprised at the seriousness and solidity of much that he has to say. He learned his manner and assumed his more superficial attitudes in the teens of this century but he has survived as most of his contemporaries have not because his knowledge and his intelligence are genuine and impressive. Despite bad-boy flourishes he seems to have read everything even remotely connected with the drama and he remembers most of it. Despite characteristic stunts like enumerating which plays with dogs in them have failed and which have succeeded he can also quietly marshal opinions from Dryden to Shaw on any important question. Partly because he has scorned to follow changing fashions he will probably last a good deal longer than younger commentators who seem at the moment so much more serious.

DRYDEN: POETRY, PROSE AND PLAYS. Selected by Douglas Grant. The Reynard Library. Harvard. $4.25. This latest edition to the series of "compendous books" is more than usually welcome since neither the complete works of Dryden nor any other really representative collection of his prose

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and verse is currently available—an astonishing fact when one considers how his virtues have been celebrated in recent years by Eliot and his disciples. The editor contributes a sound sensible introduction which Dryden himself would have approved and gives substantial representation to all the principal kinds of writing Dryden did. Nearly nine hundred pages from one of the best writers of the English language is good money's worth.

CHIVERS' LIFE OF POE. Edited with an Introduction by Richard Beale Davis. Dutton. $5. Since the days of Woodberry Poe students have made some use of the material left by Chivers but this is the first publication of all the most significant parts of it from the MS now in the Huntington Library. Chivers was a bad but enthusiastic poet who liked to believe that he had influenced Poe's style and the relations between the two were not always perfectly amiable. He was, nevertheless, an ardent champion after Poe's death and his reminiscences are of real value to the student as well as of some curious interest even to the casual reader who will find in Chivers's exalted and exclamatory style some of the charm of the what-not and antimacassar. The editor has written a sound informative introduction and provided elaborate annotation. For a book of one hundred and twenty-five pages the price seems a bit steep.

THE WILD WHEEL. By Garet Garrett. Pantheon. $2.75. An odd and interesting book on Henry Ford, "the extreme and last pure event" in the history of free private enterprise. "A divine mechanic," Garrett calls him, "who thought with his hands; the ultimate child of his era, acting upon his world with ruthless and terrible energy by instinct and intuition." A helter-skelter book, repetitious and disorganized, but with flashes of insight and passages of first-hand observation that cut deep into the Ford mystery.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg"

Reviewed by Wayne Morse

Films

MANNY FARBER

"THE SNIPER"—the story of a sweet-faced laundry driver who compulsively murders pretty brunettes because "someone did something mean to him when he was a kid"—is a smooth, technically astute, 100 per cent dull melodrama. It was made by a progressive producer, Stanley Kramer, whose films often fight prejudice with all the usual antiquated prejudices. For example, he has gone to unusual lengths to build sympathy for the underdogs of society—the oppressed Negro, mother-fixated tenement kid, or paraplegic—while sniping at publishers, business men, government officials, etc. Here, he has cast the role of a sex offender with an actor (Edward Franz) whose nice manners and muffled personality make him appear to be the movie's most wholesome American. The only thing interesting about the figure is that he is so unlikely as a "maniac." He has a neat way with guns, cars, baseballs, and laundry deliveries. When he spots a likely victim, he picks himself out a rooftop, calmly removes a telescopic carbine from a briefcase, efficiently puts it together, and puts one bullet cleanly through the girl's temple. Then he goes home, locks the carbine in the top bureau drawer, and writes a note to the police begging them to capture him ("Stop me—Find me and stop me—I'm going to do it again."). Aside from the fact that Franz is an expert driver and takes his laundry truck into picturesque San Francisco locales, his behavior is pretty colorless in a movie where the more normal citizens knock themselves out acting angry, cocky, pompous, or mean.

Though Kramer never tires of exposing ugliness in society, his movies are peculiar for an absurdly well-organized look: they move well, have a laundered kind of slate-toned photography, and never get tangled up in any event. It is typical of his Business Machine style that when the boy is finally spotted by a painter working a block away on the top of a factory chimney, the kid brings him down with a single bullet (the body slides down so photogenically on a pulley contraption that it must have been engineered by a Phi Beta Kappa in movie stunt shots). Another interesting example of Kramer's efficiency is the way his females act when the bullets hit them. They go into a cyclonic version of Leon Errol's rubber-legged walk before smashing into a brick wall or table; this is a difficult thing to do, but it is managed with fascinating skill by other-

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wise wooden females. Finally, there are the scenes between aroused civic leaders and police officials, in which "liberal" and "anti-social" remarks turn up with perfect timing and placement. A newspaper publisher, played by a stock Republican type, says some asinine thing ("We want this fellow caught, and punished, punished, punished."), and is immediately put in his place with a remark that sounds like it hurried in from a Barry Gray disc-jockey show ("Your paper slants the news, exploits killings."). Because of his spic-'n-span technique and the predictable left-wing slanting of characterization, "The Sniper" is a movie that you'll have to fight to enjoy.

"The Pride of St. Louis," another ultra-civic-minded work manages to kill the idea of baseball as the national pastime. The script-writer (H. Mankiewicz) decided that Dizzy Dean is a democratic Ozark peasant, more important for his clean habits and civic behavior than for his fast ball. He has confined the movie to shots of Dizzy (Dan Dailey) glad-handing customers and developing, via talk, into a good citizen, while his career is described by radio announcers and newspaper headlines. When the movie occasionally gets around to baseball, it shows Dailey doing a hammed-up burlesque of pitching—so intricate that he doesn't seem to be throwing the ball. Odd note: Dailey, in certain profile shots with his hair dry and bushy, looks a bit like Dean's old-time rival, Carl Hubbell.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THIS comment on Roger Sessions's "The Musical Experience of Composer, Performer, Listener" (Princeton, $2.50) is late because the book (originally a series of lectures at the Juilliard School) was to have been reviewed by a composer, performer, and listener who after many months reported himself unable to produce a review. And I could understand why when I came to read the book myself: the writing is diffusely unprecise and unordered, which means that reading for continuous sense one has great difficulty in getting hold of the thought for reporting and comment.

Mr. Sessions begins with the psycho-physiological basis of musical feeling, expression, and communication—the fact, for example, that a melodic motif or phrase, which "is in essence and origin a vocal gesture . . . a vocal movement with a clearly defined . . . profile," is "sensitive to infinitely delicate nuances of tension and relaxation, as these are embodied in the breathing which animates the vocal gesture and shapes its contours"—an instance of this being the "sharp, irregular accents, or *successive violent contrasts in pitch*" which "call forth subconscious associations suggesting the kind of agitation which produces violent or irregular breathing." I understand Mr. Sessions to contend that awareness of this basis is necessary for the composer, the performer, the listener, and the reader of a book about all three; but to me it seems no more necessary than the awareness of what anthropologists have established as the basis of linguistic communication is necessary for the writing or reading or discussion of poetry. One can accept as fact the operation called language, and begin with its use in a poem; and one can, I think, similarly accept the operation called musical communication, and begin with what is done in or with a piece of music. And Mr. Sessions himself goes on, in subsequent chapters, to talk about the external manifestations of the operation of the composer's or performer's mind in the music or performance, without relating them back to their internal basis in conditions of his body.

It is in these later chapters, when Mr. Sessions's mind is engaged with actual music, that he produces the valuable material of his book. When, for example, he points out that a musical idea, "the starting point of a vital musical 'train of thought,' can be virtually anything which strikes a composer's imagination"—not only a theme, a motif, but a chord, a sonority, a rhythmic figure, a relation between two harmonies or keys. Above all when he illustrates this by showing in quoted passages of music what the composer's mind works with and what it does with this material. (To have Mr. Sessions seated at a piano with a score in which he points out the course of events in the music should be an illuminating experience.) And so when he discusses performance, and says that the composer indicates in his score how the outlines of the music embodying its movement or gesture can best be made clear by the performer, whose playing must reveal his understanding of the music "in terms of its articulation, its contours, and its proportions" (he must play "not so much notes as motifs, phrases, periods, sections . . . *rhythmic groups*") and his awareness also of "the melodic and harmonic values."

In an ordered progression the next step would be to discuss the listener's apprehension of the course of events indicated in the score and made explicit in the performance. But Mr. Sessions begins his chapter on the listener by describing derisively the enormous number and variety of books, courses, and radio programs—including some that would appear to perform a useful function—which undertake to "prepare the listener fully for the strenuous task of listening to music." Why all this unnecessary concern about the listener, asks Mr. Sessions. And his explanation is that the musical public has increased to the point where entrepreneurs and musicians ("I am of course speaking of performances rather than compositions") are involved in large-scale business enterprise as producers for a mass consumer; that the producers must therefore consider their buyers' tastes, must persuade them to buy their goods, and must "do everything possible to enhance the value of the goods sold"—which, in logical connection with what has led up to it in the sequence of thought, can mean only that the courses and books are the performance industry's means of "selling" its products to the public. Mr. Sessions himself doesn't explicitly state this implied meaning of the conclusion of the sequence in logical connection with its beginning, doesn't think back to the courses and books after they have enabled him to talk about music as big business—logical connection, in this sequence, being only a means of bringing in one thing after another that he wants to get off his chest. And the next such thing is that in the situation in which the listener is only a consumer, the musician is "no longer a cultural citizen, one of the cultural assets of the community with purely cultural respon-

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sibilities, but . . . a cog in the economic machine," with the responsibility of producing what consumer demand makes economically profitable.

In most of this I recognize one of the schematic ideas with which the late Artur Schnabel held his disciples spellbound and persuaded them that he was one of the great minds of the century. And if I am less impressed it isn't because I am unaware of the situation today, but because I am aware that it is only one variant of the situation at all times—because I recall, for example, that the eighteenth-century musician produced for the eighteenth-century consumer what that not always enlightened consumer demanded, and was treated not as a cultural citizen and asset of the community but as a cog in the eighteenth-century musico-economic machine—that is, wore the consumer's livery and ate at his servants' table. For the rest, Mr. Sessions, as I understand him, notes the many courses and books which represent a concern with the large musical public; notes that the performance industry has a concern with the large musical public; and derives from the two observations the idea that the courses and books represent the performance industry's concern with the public—whereas actually, I need hardly point out, they represent the various concerns of schools, colleges, writers, and publishers with the public, and serve the performance industry's interest only incidentally. It appears that when Mr. Session's eye is not on the course of events in a piece of music he operates as an angry man with a muddled mind.

The muddled mind also contrives the pretexts first for having dragged in this irrelevant material and then for getting away from it and back to what the book is concerned with. If we are to understand the listener, says Mr. Sessions, "we must see him . . . not as an abstraction but as an existing and concrete figure in our musical society"—which is not the way we have had to understand the composer, and not really the way we have to understand the listener, in this book. "But it is not mainly in his role of consumer that I wish to speak of the listener. The question for us is rather his own experience of music"—which in fact is the only question in this book.

RECORD NOTES

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 1; Gulda with Vienna Philharmonic under Böhm (London); Gulda for the most part first-rate, orchestra quite poor; recording badly muffled and blurred; noisy surfaces.

Piano Concerto No. 4; Backhaus with Vienna Philharmonic under Krauss (London); Backhaus fair in first two movements, brutal in the last, orchestra throughout undistinguished; piano tone muffled, and occasionally blurred.

Serenade for flute, violin, and viola, Op. 25; Baker, Joseph and Lilian Fuchs (Decca); superb performance.

String Trio, Op. 9, No. 3; Joseph, Lilian, and Harry Fuchs (Decca); superb performance.

Brahms: Alto Rhapsody; Anderson with RCA Victor Symphony and Robert Shaw Chorale under Reiner (Victor); good performance apart from Anderson's current tremolo.

Double Concerto; Milstein and Piatigorsky with the Robin Hood Dell Orchestra under Reiner (Victor); fair performance.

Symphony No. 2; Furtwängler with London Philharmonic (London); performance spiritless and slack; recording very muffled, noisy surfaces.

Symphony No. 3; Szell with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); excellent performance; recording a bit muffled, swish in the third movement.

Symphony No. 4; Walter with the N. Y. Philharmonic (Columbia); good performance, in Walter's familiar relaxed style.

Chopin: Recital by Maryla Jonas (Columbia); familiar waltzes, etudes, and the Berceuse; second class performance in the conventionally mannered style.

Dvorak: "New World" Symphony; Kubelik with the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); good performance, noisy surfaces.

Franck: Symphonic Variations; Brailowsky with the RCA Victor Symphony under Morel (Victor); effective performance in the virtuosic manner.

Handel: Sonatas for violin, Nos. 13, 14, 15; Elman and Rosé (Victor); Elman's performance vulgar almost beyond belief, Rosé undistinguished.

Liszt: Todtentanz; Brailowsky with RCA Victor Symphony under Reiner (Victor); effective performance.

Mahler: Kindertotenlieder; Anderson with San Francisco Symphony under Monteux (Victor); sumptuous performance, a bit heavy compared with the Ferrier-Walter recording.

Schumann: "Spring" Symphony; Münch with Boston Symphony (Victor); fine performance; recording occasionally blurred.

Strauss: Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme; Strauss with the Berlin State Opera Orchestra (Decca); heavily light music; fine performance; acceptable dubbing of a very old recording.

Tschaikowsky: Symphony No. 4; Kubelik with the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); excellent performance except for an occasional loss of pace in soft passages; noisy surfaces.

Weber: Overtures to "Oberon," "Euryanthe," "Preciosa," and "Peter Schmoll und seine Nachbarn"; Böhm with Vienna Philharmonic (London); the unfamiliar pieces are pleasantly inconsequential; good performance.

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Letters to the Editors

Is Hiss a "Liberal"?

Dear Sirs: A typographical mix-up in the first paragraph of my review of Whittaker Chambers's "Witness" may lead to misunderstanding. In a context suggesting Alger Hiss, I referred to "a liberal who was recruited from the idealistic wing of public service." The surrounding quote marks that should qualify the word "liberal" were unfortunately omitted; as the review itself makes clear, I do not believe nor could I say that Hiss is, or was, a liberal. One of the few things on which I agree with Chambers is his political characterization of Hiss.

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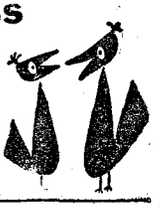

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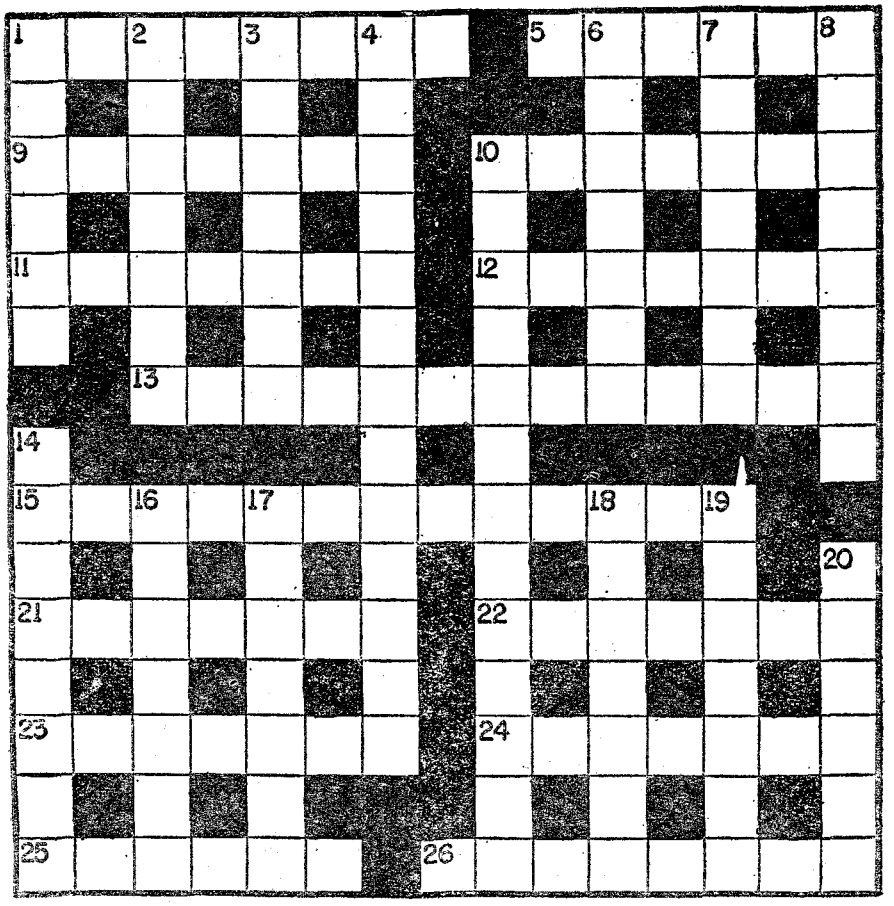
Crossword Puzzle No. 467

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Scalp? (You could get sort of elated about the wrong type.) (8)
5 Cowers, perhaps, at the outcome of the deed. (6)
9 Fighters' exercise? (3, 4)
10 Capital city of Sen. Knowland, according to his critics. (7)
11 Not even a crew left, for example, to make the weight? Certainly! (7)
12 A connection run by Truman's statesship? (7)
13 Jefferson Davis, for example, might fit into the Carboniferous period. (12)
15 Is Fido haunted by them? (6, 7)
21 No birch branches, even in the "dead man's chest"! (7)
22 Immoderate. (7)
23 Thucydides said the ones of Athens were purchased by valiant men. (7)
24 The need for them is dependent on the brightness of outlook. (7)
25 And in Formosa she seems part of the outlook mentioned above. (7)
26 He used to be responsible for an official dispatch. (8)

DOWN

1 and 4. Needs what is in photos for the direction of naval personnel. (4, 2, 3, 3, 2, 5)
2 Rap, on my word, for wisdom to wise. (7)
3 Neither the Hanseatic nor the American were the sort covered by Capt. Nemo. (7)
4 See 1 down.
6 Kind of cup? Well, you've put your foot in it! (7)
7 Under-water actor in Spanish Guinea? (3, 4)
8 Being responsible for trauma, perhaps. (8)
10 You might expect to get a letter of character if you do. (13)
14 They accompanied royalty with title —yet their heads could roll! (8)
16 I go with a bad sort of tribesmen. (7)
17 Impute to be like a writer? (7)
18 Vocalized a sort of dentition without it. (7)
19 Backbone? Quite the opposite, despite its sound. (7)
20 An ocean lad, or salt, perhaps! (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 466

ACROSS:—1 CORPS DE BALLET; 10 WHIRL; 11 TRAFALGAR; 12 FREE VERSE; 13 SHAFT; 14 SUPERMARKETS; 19 POINT AT ISSUE; 22 RISKS; 24 BRET HARTE; 25 FIRE CHIEF; 26 ANNUL; 27 INTERRELATION.

DOWN:—2 OLIVER; 3 POLE VAULT; 4 DETERGENT; 5 BLASE; 6 LEAPS; 7 ENGRAVER; 8 SWIFT; 9 PROTEST; 15 MASTERFUL; 16 ROUGHCAST; 17 UPDRAFT; 18 FIRST-RUN; 20 FRANCO; 21 PEALS; 23 SOCLE; 24 BRIER.

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We Blush for America

For these headlines from the May 15 issue of New York papers.

We recall from school-day study of the Declaration of Independence:

Men gathered to set down on paper the stirring call that was to lead them on the road to freedom, writing, "When in the Course of human events . . ." etc., etc., etc., "A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRED . . ." etc., etc.

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Decent respect to opinions of mankind . . . sacred honor.

In 1776, a little band of brave men without atom or napalm bombs, with only the muskets they held in their hands, could pledge their honor to a cause which they laid before the world to inspect.

Today, a mighty nation, self-appointed leader of the "free" throughout the world, armed with the most frightful weapons, careless of honor, callous to the opinions of others, we repudiate the written pledge of a general of our army made to a group of prisoners of war.

We blush for America—for to what heights have we risen that we can fall so low? What priceless treasure, what precious secret, did these concessions hold that we stoop to such indignity?

We remember that one of the grievances detailed in the Declaration said: "He (King George) has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power."

We blush for America, but we fear for our children that billions poured into war machines may once again raise the military to heights of power beyond the control of civil authority.

War, not peace, is the use for which arms are fashioned, but peace, not war, is in the hearts and yearning of those of us who still hold honor high and desire the decent respect of the opinions of mankind.

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